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LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. CXLIII.—New Series, No. 23.

Contents.

- I. THE PSALMS AND MODERN CRITICISM.
- II. ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.
- III. AN ELIZABETHAN ASTROLOGER.
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- VII. EARLY ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY.
- VIII. TWELVE GOOD MEN.
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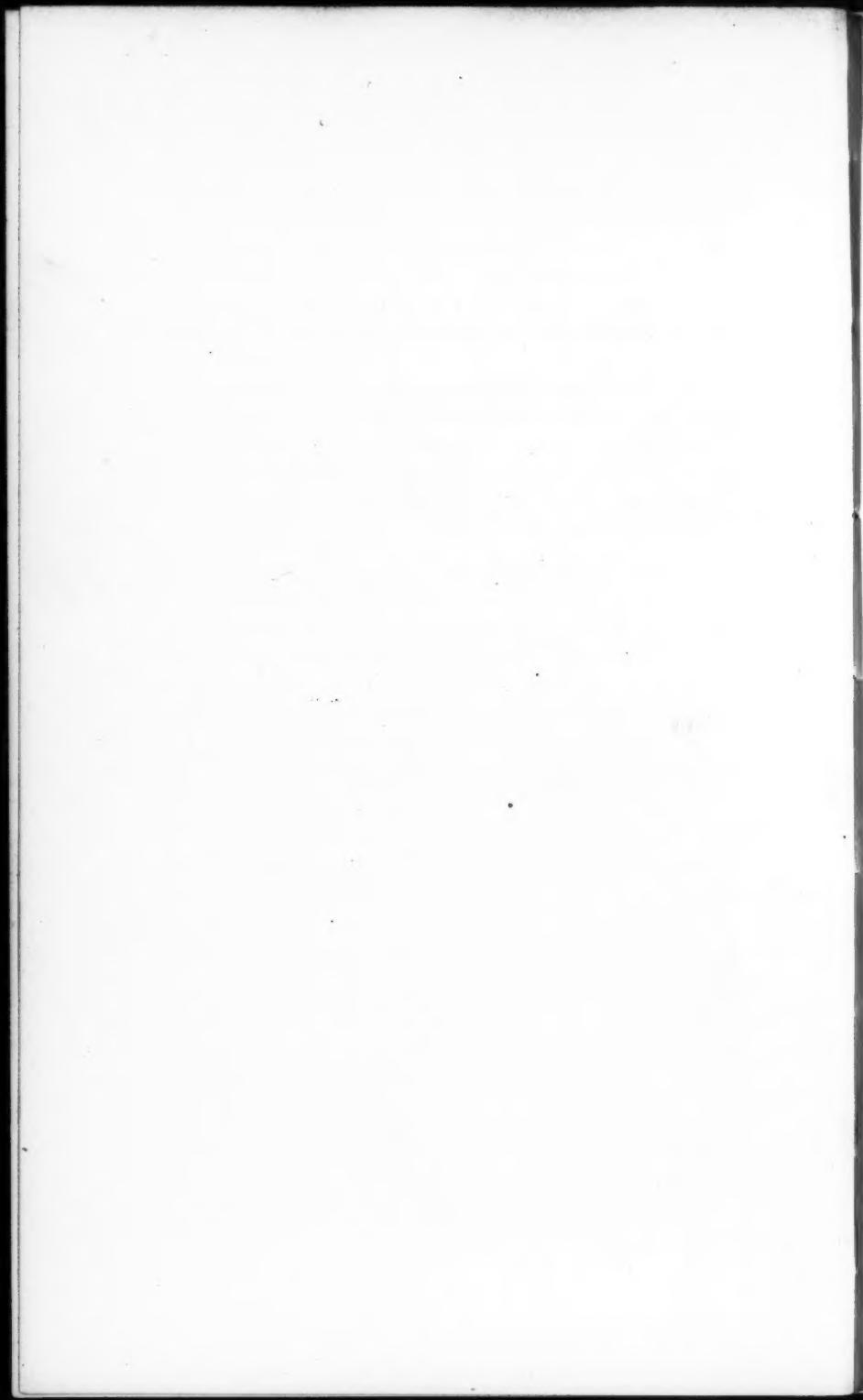
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ART. I.—THE PSALMS AND MODERN CRITICISM.

The Book of Psalms; or, the Praises of Israel. A New Translation, with Commentary. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Canon of Rochester. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE Psalter is a Bible within a Bible. It is the Holy Place of personal religion in the midst of the sacred courts of the Old Testament Temple. If the whole Bible is a library, the Book of Psalms is a library in miniature. It includes poems extending over at least half a millennium of history ; its music touches in turn all the manifold chords of personal devotion ; and its lofty strains express and embody the worship of a great part of the world.

It might perhaps be supposed that a poetical and devotional book of this kind lay outside the range of the criticism which has been, and still is, so busy with the literature of the Old Testament. It is not by any means necessary for us to know the authors of the Psalms in order to enjoy them and profit by them. The personal element they contain is soon lost in the impersonal, the finite in the infinite. The singer seldom lingers long amidst the streets of the city, within the limits of a single nation or country, [No. CXLIII.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. XII. NO. I. A

among the fields and the homesteads ; he soon wings his flight into the upper air, from whence the whole familiar landscape dwindles to a mere speck. The Psalmist, of all men, is alone with God and his own soul. The name of a saint does not affect or determine the character of his religion, and the busiest critic hesitates to intermeddle with the secret devotion of the heart.

But it needs only a second glance at this wonderful book to show that we cannot expect, and should not desire, such immunity on its behalf. The writers of these sacred lyrics are men of Israel ; the occasions of their poems are partly known, or may be partly ascertained ; the poems themselves are often unintelligible apart from the history of the Jewish nation, and many of them at least are inextricably interwoven with it. If the Psalmist ranges freely in the higher atmosphere of devotion, he cannot entirely sever the links which bind him to earth, and the devout and intelligent reader of the book, while frequently raised entirely above the region and atmosphere of historical investigation and discussion, finds very often the need of help and guidance, if he would either fully understand or profitably use the Psalms to stimulate and sustain his own worship. Professor Robertson Smith, when, some eight or nine years ago, he attempted to lead a popular audience into the mysteries of Biblical criticism, began with the Psalter as his first illustration.* He held that the Book of Psalms furnishes "an example of what can be learned by critical study in a subject of limited compass, which can be profitably discussed without any wide digression into general questions of Old Testament history." It will soon be discovered that no single book of the Old Testament can be long intelligently discussed apart from the rest ; but for the moment we may accept the statement that the Book of Psalms affords a comparatively simple illustration of the work and methods of Biblical criticism and a comparatively open field for their operation.

For ourselves, let it be said at once, we cordially hail and welcome the work of "criticism" in relation to the Bible. The

* "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," Lect. vii. p. 176; cf. p. 208.

word is perhaps, in the ears of many, an unpropitious one. It savours of a temper which, in their view, is entirely out of place in dealing with a sacred book. The prominent representatives of Biblical criticism in modern times have not commended it to reverent readers. It is associated with a ruthless and destructive analysis, which spares no shrine, however holy—no sanctuary, however ancient and solemn the worship which has consecrated it. But it is necessary to bear in mind that there is criticism *and* criticism. The postulates, methods, temper, beliefs, and conclusions of critics differ widely as the Poles. Biblical criticism, rightly understood, is a science, and science should admit no animus, allow no perversion of truth in the interests either of destruction or conservation, but present all its conclusions in that dry, clear light which it is so easy to define, so difficult to attain. Biblical criticism, rightly understood, means only the wisest thoughts of the wisest men, using the wisest methods to ascertain all the facts concerning the sacred literature which is reverenced by Christians under the names of the Old and New Testaments. Such Biblical criticism must be variously fruitful, ought to be universally welcomed, and is indeed absolutely necessary, if the book which Christians revere as the authoritative guide of faith and practice is to be a trusted authority and a safe and sufficient guide. Protestants at least do not believe in a half-opened Bible.

Criticism has, indeed, often done anything but illustrate the above definition. Yet we owe very much to it. It would take us too far from our subject if we tried to show how much the Christian world owes to writers whom we may nevertheless believe to be arbitrary theorists, untrustworthy critics, unsafe, and even, in many respects, mischievous teachers. What Biblical student is not indebted, directly or indirectly, to Ewald; yet who is prepared to follow him in all the details of his dogmatic decisions concerning documents, dates, and authors? Where, now, are the "tendency" theories of Baur and his Tübingen followers? Yet the whole current of New Testament study has been affected by Baur's work, and the most orthodox interpreters have benefited by side-lights which he and his school have cast upon the early history of Christianity. If it were

only for the immense stimulus given to Biblical study, the work of criticism would be invaluable; the assaults of Strauss and Renan have purified and deepened a faith which loses its most precious qualities if it be allowed to slumber in the mechanical acceptance of half-understood tradition. The orthodox defender of the faith too often has not known the Bible whose cause he has undertaken to champion. If criticism has done nothing else, it has compelled men to think and read and search the Scriptures with a minuteness of scrutiny and earnestness of attention which cannot afford to let anything slip.

But criticism has not always been, and in England it has not mainly been, of an extreme and destructive type. The sober and practical temper of the English mind has modified the German tendency to theorize, and—be the reason what it may—a more truly religious spirit in English critics has for the most part chastened the boldness of speculation which has marked Continental rationalists. Among the representatives of this moderate English school, one of the most eminent living examples is Dr. Cheyne, Oxford Professor and Canon of the Anglican Church, whose recently published work on the Psalms forms the basis of our article. Professor Cheyne's earliest publications, it is true, could hardly be called sober or moderate. His articles in the *Academy*, in the very early days of its publication, and his *Isaiah Chronologically Arranged*, published in 1871, exhibit Dr. Cheyne merely as an apt pupil of Ewald and the ruling German lights of the day. Some years later, however, as is matter of public knowledge, a change was manifest in the views of the able and brilliant Biblical critic, and it was made clear that, while maintaining to the full the methods of scientific inquiry, he found it necessary to take a decided stand on the whole subject of supernatural religion, the foundations of which were endangered by rationalistic assumptions and arguments. Accordingly, in his *Isaiah* (1880-1), Dr. Cheyne entered upon a course which since that time he has been steadily pursuing. This may be described as an attempt to show that the most thorough-going scientific investigation into the contents and history of the sacred books, and even the complete overturning of a considerable number of traditional beliefs concerning their text,

date, and authorship, is quite consistent with reverent belief in Divine Inspiration, the supernatural guidance of Providence in history, the Divinity, Miracles, and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, and, in general, a broad and free, but genuine and complete, acceptance of Evangelical Christianity.

This position has been further illustrated by works published during the last decade. *Job and Solomon* was issued in 1887, and consists of a scholarly examination of what is known as the *Chokmah*, or "Wisdom-Literature," of the Old Testament. A more recent volume from Dr. Cheyne's pen lays stress by its very title upon the object which the writer has set before himself. It is entitled *The Hallowing of Criticism*, though it consists really of sermons on the life and work of Elijah, preached in Rochester Cathedral. The appendix explains the title. It contains a paper read at the Manchester Church Congress, on the question, "To what extent should results of historical and scientific criticism, especially of the Old Testament, be recognized in sermons and teaching?" As we think it important that the spirit and aims of the writer whose work we are discussing should be clearly understood, we prefer that he should state them in his own words:—

"Among the many new embodiments of the Christian spirit, may not this be vouchsafed us—a free and yet devout critic: one who loves all the departments of God's truth with an equal love; one who does not try to concede as little as he can to a power which he cannot bless, but dares not curse; one who is not afraid even to make mistakes, on the chance of finding some fresh fact, and when he has made them to admit them; but who, like Job, is greatly afraid to 'speak unrighteously for God' (Job xiii. 7)? The Bible has been so long presented and interpreted uncritically and irrationally, that it will require immense patience and energy to undo the mischief; but, unless we put forth this patience and make this effort, the prospects of even the simplest historic Christianity among working men as a class seem to me gloomy indeed I may also venture to say that in all my own critical work since the year 1880, the separation of the permanent from the temporary religious elements of the Old Testament has been my chief aim next to that of ascertaining historical truth. I do not see why a scholar, even if he be also a professor, should not have a true pastor's spirit. He cannot, he dare not, conceal his well-weighed results, even if they give a momentary scandal to the 'weak,' even if they are but approximations to the truth. . . . Have we thought enough of *the hallowing of criticism?*" (pp. 185, 191, 197).

Dr. Cheyne's last work is an even more striking illustration of his desire to popularize in a religious and reverent spirit the results of the best Biblical criticism of the Old Testament. *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, is emphatically written for the many. It forms a companion volume to Professor Driver's *Isaiah*, and, like it, contains an immense amount of valuable information, marshalled with the skill of an accomplished scholar, but presented in a small compass, popular style, and most attractive form. And, while it is made clear from the very outset, that the handling of the text of Jeremiah, and of the many problems raised by his prophecies, is marked by a freedom which will startle and, perhaps, shock many readers, the spiritual lessons of the book are inculcated with a devoutness, earnestness, and sometimes even a fervour, which the most pronounced evangelical divine of the old school could not surpass.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire more definitely, What does "criticism" imply? What demands does it make, what changes in traditional views does it entail, and how far are these changes compatible with belief in supernatural religion and orthodox Christianity? As regards the Old Testament—for it is with that only that we have now to do—we cannot well separate the so-called "lower" from the "higher" criticism, that which deals only with the sacred text from that which investigates the date, authorship, and subject-matter of the books. All these topics come legitimately within the province of the Biblical critic, and he thus prepares the way for the Biblical theologian, with whom alone, strictly speaking, it lies to arrange and systematize the results thus attained. But it is clear that a very wide field has been opened for investigation, and that the greatest care is necessary less rationalistic postulates and assumptions on the one hand, or merely traditional and unfounded "orthodox" assumptions on the other, should vitiate the conclusions arrived at.

As regards the text of the Old Testament, it must be clearly understood that the subject is not as yet ripe for scientific decision. A wide gap here separates the Old Testament from the New. The variety and extent of the materials extant for determining the text of the books of the New Testament, and

the advances made in the study by scholars, are such that a scientifically accurate text has been arrived at with general, though not universal, consent. The views of Drs. Westcott and Hort may be, in some respects, extreme and unguarded; but the consensus of scholars on the subject of New Testament textual criticism is now so nearly complete that only details remain to be discussed and decided. With the Old Testament this is not the case. As the Revisers indicate in their *Preface*, the earliest existing MSS. are as late as the ninth century of our era; the versions—particularly the LXX., an all-important factor in the case—have not been critically edited, nor has any satisfactory explanation been given of the relation between the Massoretic (traditional) text and those of the Samaritan, Greek, and Syriac versions. Consequently, the Massoretic text holds the field, but in many places it is very far from satisfactory, even including, as of course we must, the alternative readings furnished by the scribes under the names C'thib and Q'ri.

The question, then, arises—What amount of latitude is to be allowed to conjectural emendation? In the New Testament it ought, on no account, to be allowed, as the history of the text makes it exceedingly unlikely that any reading not found in any of our existing authorities can be the correct one; and even Dr. Hort's occasional and cautious attempts to amend the text in certain places must be pronounced as altogether inadmissible. But in the Old Testament, having (virtually) only one line of textual tradition before us—with the occasional doubtful help of a version or two, the significance and value of whose variations it is very difficult to measure—what is to be done in a hard and apparently unintelligible passage? It is very easy to pronounce it "corrupt," and, if critics be permitted to cut at their pleasure knots which they find it difficult to untie, English readers are simply at their mercy. Particularly if, with preconceived views to establish, they are at liberty to tamper with passages which do not fit in with them. On this important subject, then, what are the views of our author? In his *Isaiah* we read—

"Purely subjective emendation, I repeat, is not to be admitted on any

excuse. If a passage is so utterly corrupt as to give no clue to the correct reading, a commentator, penetrated with the spirit of Hebrew, may suggest an approximation to what may have been in the writer's mind, but his suggestion should be confined to the commentary. But when a conjecture has some external support, especially from the versions or from palaeography, it is more respectful to the Hebrew writer to adopt it than to 'make sense' by sheer force out of an unnatural reading" (ii. p. 214).

As regards the Psalms, we quote partly from Canon Cheyne's Preface to his translation, published in the "Parchment Library" in 1883, and partly from the Preface to his *Commentary* :—

"The younger school of Hebrew scholars looks upon the textual and exegetical tradition much as the Sanskrit school, represented by Mr. Max Müller, looks upon the exegetical tradition of Sayana, and, earnestly as it deprecates the excesses of some isolated critics, will not pretend to translate that which cannot be translated, simply because the frequent irregularities of Hebrew usage make some current rendering, apart from exegesis, not absolutely inadmissible. The present translator is very conscious of his fallibility, but he prefers to offer in such cases a plausible and worthy rendering, based upon some natural emendation, to airing his grammatical acumen at the expense of propriety and connexion. Rather than do this, indeed, he has sometimes left a blank in his version, to indicate that the text is perhaps corrupt, and certainly, to the translator, unintelligible" (p. vi.).

"Those who, out of simple conscientiousness, emend the Hebrew text, are oftentimes accused of 'subjectivity.' The term is then used in a bad sense; but I think that a subjectivity which forms and disciplines and tests itself by critical methods and canons is nothing to be ashamed of. Where long reflection has convinced me that the mutilations of time have rendered exegesis impossible, I have either left a blank in my version or else sought for a worthy rendering based upon some natural emendation. The critical notes . . . will, I hope, account for my innovations" (p. 10).

Against the general principles thus enunciated we have no complaint to make; everything depends upon the way in which they are carried out. If, with the Massoretic text, "exegesis is impossible," if due account is taken of versions and other authorities, a critic who is "penetrated with the Hebrew spirit," who has given the subject "long reflection," especially if he "forms and disciplines and tests" his conclusions "by critical methods and canons," may surely offer conjectural emendations and earn the gratitude of students. But it needs no argument to show that this liberty is of all others most

open to abuse, and all the history of criticism shows how absolutely essential it is that its exercise should be most strictly watched and scrupulously guarded. In the case of a sacred book like the Bible, moreover, we think there can be little doubt that such textual criticism should be strictly confined to the limits of the commentary. The Revisers have occasionally added in their margin such a brief note as "The text is probably corrupt" (see Zech. xiv. 18, &c.), but there are few passages where fairly intelligible sense may not be made of the Massoretic text, and in the present state of Old Testament textual criticism the only course open to translators preparing a people's Bible is to abide by it. How far Professor Cheyne is disposed to carry textual emendation in the case of the Psalms we shall see shortly.

With the large questions of the "higher criticism" of the Old Testament we are not directly concerned in this article. It is true that the full investigation of the problems of the Book of Psalms would necessitate some discussion of these questions. For example, the value of the superscription of Psalm xc. cannot be decided without inquiring into the date and authorship of Deuteronomy. Every student of the Psalm must have noticed the remarkable similarity in style and language to certain portions of that book, and, however little credence be given to the superscriptions generally, the internal evidence of date afforded by the Psalm itself leads us into the heart of some of the most hotly debated questions of Pentateuchal criticism. Indeed, as is now generally well known, the most advanced critics have virtually re-written the whole of Old Testament history, and produced a version of their own, in which fact and fiction are blended in what the plain reader naturally considers a most bewildering and topsy-turvy fashion. Such revolutionary theories cannot be adopted without affecting very seriously our views of the poetical literature which runs like a golden thread through some 500 years at least of Israelitish history. Accordingly, some of our modern "critical" guides tell us that in "David" nothing is David's, and that the real fount of sacred song, whence gushed the music which has brightened and refreshed the spiritual life of so many centuries, is really to be found in—of all places—

that prosaic and priest-ridden period of Jewish history, the post-exilic days! *

A writer on the Psalms must face these questions. But, as it happens, Canon Cheyne has postponed the consideration of nearly all of them to another occasion—we may presume they are to be handled in the Bampton Lectures, which it is understood he will this year deliver. This is a disadvantage to the student of the present volume, and it prevents us from entering fully upon a very interesting subject. But Dr. Cheyne gives us hints here and there of the direction in which his own views tend, and a word or two on this matter is therefore possible for us. On the subject of Davidic Psalms, our author says:—

“Of the three most distinguished recent critics, Ewald acknowledges only eleven entire psalms and some fragments of psalms as Davidic, Hitzig fourteen, and Delitzsch forty-four. All of these agree as to the Davidic authorship of Psalms iii., iv., vii., viii., xi., xviii., xix. 1-7, and two out of three as to that of Psalms ix., x., xii., xiii., xv.-xviii., xix. 8-14, xxiv., xxix., xxxii., ci. Kuenen, however, will admit no Davidic Psalms, though Davidic passages may have been inserted. In any case, it is quite certain that there are none in the last three books, and the probability is that Ewald’s is the most conservative view of the headings at present tenable. Need I add that I merely record his position, without either endorsing it or attaching any special weight to his authority?” †

Canon Cheyne, however, gives us sufficient light as to his own opinions for us to see that he is not likely to be more conservative than Ewald. Of Psalm xviii.—which all, except a few of the most destructive critics, regard as eminently Davidic in style, to say nothing of the statements of 2 Sam. xxii.—Canon Cheyne will only say:—

“I may safely assert that Ps. xviii. as a whole is not later than the days of Hezekiah, whose reforms may be alluded to in ver. 21-25. . . . Is the poem the work of King David himself? Ewald thinks so, and the insertion of it in 2 Samuel may seem to some to decide the point. Other critics (with whom I coincide) are content with affirming that it was at least written with an eye to the life of David” (pp. 45-6).

* What the lyric compositions of the Maccabean period actually were, is seen in the apocryphal book known as the *Psalter of Solomon*. They evince piety and fidelity, but not genius. Theirs is the beauty of the echo, not of the original voice.

† Introd. p. xvi., and see “Parchment Library”: *Psalms*, Introd. pp. xi.-xvi.

Of Psalm li. he says: "It is clear from the whole tenor of the work that the speaker represents the pious kernel of the people of Israel" ("Parchm. Libr." p. 233); and he assigns none of the exquisite little group, beginning with Psalm lvi.—with regard to which the titles are so explicit—as belonging to the time of David. Our author evidently favours the idea that Psalms xliv., lxxiv., and lxxix. are to be ascribed to the Maccabean period. Of xliv. he says, "A Maccabean date has most authority in its favour," and of lxxiv. he holds that the Psalmist describes the troubles of that period, but that he "may remember descriptions of the Chaldaean trouble, and therefore not give a thoroughly accurate account of the later calamity." And in the note on lxxiv. 8 we read, "Why hold out against Maccabean Psalms?" (p. 208). But we are doing some injustice to Professor Cheyne in giving these mere glimpses of his views, when he expressly withdraws for the present the reasoning by which he would establish them. The whole question of the value of the titles or superscriptions must be argued out on its own merits, and our fragmentary references to it are perhaps somewhat misleading. Our justification, of course, is that the volume before us gives us glimpses—no more—of the author's views; we are bound to say, however, that such occasional specimens of reasoning as the notes afford—see, e.g., on "My holy palace," in v. 8. (p. 12), and "sacred meeting-places" (lxxiv. 8)—are to us far from convincing.

Let us pass, however, to the body of the work before us, full as it is of instruction, and, to the student of the Psalms, of perpetually renewed delight. And let us pass to the study under the archway and through the vestibule which Canon Cheyne himself indicates as forming the only right entrance into these sacred courts. "The best introduction to the Psalter is the practice of free and unconstrained private devotion. . . . The Psalm-country is wide and full of interest; each traveller may see something fresh, though not without toil and preparation. I know that it is also a 'holy land.'

"Thou, Jehovah, art the Holy One
Enthroned upon the praises of Israel."

These spirit-taught utterances of the heart can, like the

'throne-bearing cherubim,' at any moment bring Him nigh; thus I venture to paraphrase the passage. . . . Let us now press on with alert minds and uplifted hearts into the sanctuary of the 'praises of Israel.' " *

The first point calling for notice is the new translation. This was published in the first instance by itself, in a volume from which we have already quoted, in the series called "The Parchment Library," and dated 1883. The translation in our volume is substantially the same as the one which six years ago awakened considerable interest, as Dr. Cheyne says, "with numerous corrections, which do not, I trust, materially affect the style." It has a character of its own, which distinctly marks it out from the translation of the Revisers, the work of many minds and hands. It is bold, free, suggestive, often very happy; but, in spite of the taunts frequently levelled at "Committee-work," we cannot be sorry that the translation of the Psalms in the Revised Version was not entrusted to a single scholar, even were he as accomplished as Dr. Cheyne. We are not blind to the advantages of change for change's sake, any more than to the value and charm of sacred associations. Over-familiarity with sacred phraseology dulls the mental and spiritual sense, which needs often to be awakened and renewed by variations, if only to make readers and hearers think. Words need to be "de-polarized" after long use. There is a danger lest "the strong meaning of David's words should be broken down into the devotional dust of vague generalities." † Further, greater fidelity to the Hebrew than either the A.V. or R.V. displays is certainly possible, and would be an unmixed gain, in the greater vividness and force which it would give to the sacred words, though the full fire of the original is, of course, beyond reproduction. But Canon Cheyne has made many unnecessary changes, and in many places his version is neither more faithful, nor more musical, nor more forcible, but, in our opinion, distinctly inferior to the more familiar rendering. Perhaps we shall best illustrate by quoting several verses of a familiar psalm as Canon Cheyne

* See Introd. "Parchm. Libr." p. v., and *Book of Psalms*, pp. xi., xvii.

† Professor Brewer's phrase, quoted in Introduction, p. 8.

translates them, considerations of space compelling us somewhat to compress his arrangement of the lines :—

- “ 2. How lovely is thy habitation, Jehovah Sabaoth !
- “ 3. My soul longs, yea even pines, for the courts of Jehovah ;
 My heart and my flesh ring out their joy unto the living God.
- “ 4. Even as the sparrow finds a house, and the swallow a nest,
 Where she lays her callow brood [so have I found, even I,
 A home] by thine altars, O my King and my God.
- “ 5. Happy are they that dwell in thy house !
 they can be alway praising thee.
- “ 6. Happy the man who has thee for a stronghold,
 [Such as are pilgrims on] the highways [with gladness] in their heart !
- “ 7. Passing through the balsam-vale, they make it a source of fountains ;
 yea, the early rain mantles it with blessings.
- “ 8. They go from strength to strength,
 and shall appear before God in Zion.”

The rendering of the names of God, “ Jehovah Sabaoth,” in verse 2 (“ Jehovah Elohim ” in verse 12) is a clear gain. So is the occasional vivid presentation of the meaning of a Hebrew root, as in verse 3, “ ring out their joy.” “ Callow brood ” is conventional, and by no means an improvement upon the simplicity of “ her young.” “ Balsam-vale ” is a doubtful rendering ; and we decidedly prefer the R.V. “ place of springs ” to “ source of fountains.” “ Mantles ” is hardly an improvement upon “ covereth,” when used thus of rain, though some may prefer it. The modifications in verses 4 and 6 imply an interference with the text which must be discussed on its own merits.

The above extract will, we think, give a fair idea of this part of Canon Cheyne's work. We are often delighted by a happy phrase ; but often, we must confess, somewhat irritated by unnecessary changes, which only jar on the ear. In iv. 7, “ Many are saying, O for the sight of good fortune ! ” the introduction of the word “ fortune ” seems to us to strike a false note. In the next verse, “ Thou hast put more joy into my heart than when others have their corn and new wine in abundance,” is inferior to the R.V. in the turn of the phrase, though “ new wine ” is an improvement. In v. 2, “ Understand my murmuring ” is altogether mis-

leading. The fact that the Hebrew root implies the low whispering of self-communing is by no means conveyed by Dr. Cheyne's English. Those who know and love Psalm xix. would be slow to change "Who can understand his errors?" for "Lapses—who discerns them? from unknown faults absolve thou me." Nor can we admire the substitution in xxiii. 4, of "*a ravine of Hades gloom*" for the "valley of the shadow of death." On the other hand, in xxii. 21, "my dear life" happily expresses what the A.V. and R.V. quite fail to convey by the phrase, "my darling." If "as a hind which pants after running streams" be pronounced an improvement in xlvi. 1, few will favour the attempt at literalism in xlvi. 1, "my heart bubbles with goodly words." Nor can we readily consent to change "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations," into "Lord, we have found thee an asylum age upon age;" still less in verse 2 would we read "from aeon to aeon." It is, however, clearly impossible to pursue this subject into its details. We thank Canon Cheyne heartily for his new translation, which is often helpful, though in many places we are constrained to say, "the old is better."

The reader will often find the arrangement of this translation a help in understanding the Psalms, and we welcome such notes as are occasionally inserted—*e.g.*, in lxxv. 3, "God speaketh;" and in xci., cxxx., cxxxii., and cxxxiii., "First Voice—Second Voice," though perhaps the inverted commas used in Psalm xxiv. 8–10, to indicate a change of speakers, may be thought preferable. The arrangement of certain psalms in triplets, where the structure of the Hebrew poem requires it, is also a gain. Many readers, however, will be startled to find inserted from time to time the words, "Fragment of another Psalm;" and they will by no means take kindly to the idea of the dismemberment of such Psalms as xix., xxiv., xxvii., xxxvi., and lxxvii., not to mention others somewhat less familiar. The reasons for this use of the critical knife are often very meagre and unsatisfactory. It appears indeed as if in critical analysis, as in some dissecting operations, the possession of a keen instrument exercises a sort of fascination and excites a perpetual desire to use it. On the other hand, the whole subject of Composite Psalms

deserves careful study in the light of the facts suggested by comparing Psalms ix. and cviii., and kindred phenomena familiar to the student. Long association may have accustomed us to weld together in thought strains which did not proceed from one author; later Psalms, beyond doubt, borrow freely from earlier ones; and the obvious deduction from the fact that Psalm lxx. occurs in xl. 13-17, shows that combination of fragments, or portions of Psalms, has in some instances been effected.

The number of passages in which Canon Cheyne has himself sought to amend the text is considerable. He is moderate as compared with such critics as Bickell and Grätz, but in our judgment he pushes conjectural emendation much too far. It is perhaps impossible to fix any definite canons of limitation. Every critic will interpret for himself the rule that conjecture is inadmissible except where it is impossible to make good sense from the Massoretic text, aided by the Versions. Our ideas of "good sense" vary according to the measure of our willingness or unwillingness to allow of change. Some of the passages which Cheyne leaves blank in his translation, as being hopelessly corrupt, are the following:—

- ii. 11. "Serve Jehovah with fear, be in trembling agony.
- 12. lest he be angry and ye go to ruin."
- lv. 20. "God heareth [the cry of the afflicted]
Yea, he that is enthroned of old answereth them.
(*Here follows a misplaced portion of this or of another Psalm.*)
- To whom there are no changes,
and who fear not Elohim."
- exli. 5. "Let the righteous smite me in kindness and correct me,—
oil so fine let not my head refuse.
- 6.
- 7. "As when one cleaves and breaks up the earth
our bones are scattered at the mouth of Hades."

There are several scores of passages in which emendation is attempted, often by a proposal to supply what is supposed to have fallen out. In xxiii. 4, our critic thinks it necessary to insert, "[no unseen foe shall hurt me] for thou art with me." In xlv. 7, he reads—

"As for my throne [firm is its foundation]
God [has established it] for ever and ever."

It is evident that this is cutting an exegetical knot with a vengeance. The critical note appended by Canon Cheyne in this important passage does not argue—it asserts: “That there is a corruption or an omission seems to me obvious, as soon as one realizes at all fully the hazards of transcription. It is not enough to show that the received text can be somehow construed, exegetical tact must speak the last word on such a point.” And so the Massoretic text, together with the commentary upon it in Heb. i. 8, is to be deserted, though no Version or any authority whatever* indicates a difference, because “exegetical tact” decides that it would prefer to round off a difficult passage in its own way. Is not this rather exegetical licence? And is not this “criticism made easy” the very thing which is unsparingly and rightly condemned in the scribes who copied the MSS. of the New Testament? The maxim, *Proclivi lectio praestat ardua*, has its limits doubtless, but we prefer the “hard reading” of the Massoretic text in many cases to Dr. Cheyne’s “easy” one, often for the reason that the armchair corrections of the nineteenth century critic are likely to be wrong precisely because they are so easy.

We have not yet spoken of the notes which form the body of the book. For these we have hardly anything but admiration. A wonderful amount of reading and thinking is condensed into them, and some readers may well find them too brief. Those who are in a great hurry, and who want all their thinking done for them—and how large a proportion of readers, alas! are here included?—had better turn elsewhere. Those who are willing, as Canon Cheyne says, to “work at” a commentary, will be delighted. These are the only readers who deserve to have a commentary to read. Every traveller through the holy and pleasant land of the Psalms who desires a staff to help him on his journey will find here an excellent one; the lame who need crutches, or who will not use their own limbs, will probably be disappointed. The notes often

* Unless it be the Arabic of Saadia, quoted by Ibn Ezra, “God shall establish thy throne for ever.” But this is confessedly only a paraphrase, and gives no hint of an alternative text.

touch the quick of the meaning as with a needle-point. No difficulty of construction or thought is shirked, although we have already given reasons for our dissatisfaction with the short cuts which Professor Cheyne takes in order to get rid of many of the most perplexing. The meaning of Hebrew roots and idioms is clearly explained, from the point of view of the English reader. Without any parade of learning, the marks which indicate the accomplished scholar are visible on every page. Very often the results of long and careful study are condensed into a line or two, soon read, but which cannot fail to tell their own tale to those who know what sound and scholarly work means and implies.

But this is no Dryasdust collection of scholia. The promise of the Introduction is fully borne out by the Commentary. Here speaks the living interpreter, anxious above all things to reproduce to English readers the force, vividness, graphic delineation, and palpitating life of the Living Word. Canon Cheyne is not satisfied, and no annotator of the Psalms ought to be satisfied, unless the voice of the sacred singer is heard again by those who read, pouring out his rapture of thanksgiving, or pleading in the tremulous earnestness of fervent supplication. Especially do we find in these Notes the language of a devout and reverent student of Holy Writ, who knows that the doors of this Temple only open before the touch of one who knocks on bended knee, and who is not only anxious about the niceties of Hebrew idiom, but intent upon catching the accents of the Holy One speaking through His elect servants. When we add that abundant illustrations, drawn from the best literature of all ages, especially from Dante and Milton, scatter gleams of pleasant light on the language of almost every psalm, it will be clear that the work before us is one of rare and distinguished excellence.

From the nature of the case, it is not easy to illustrate these varied characteristics. We may take, however, one or two standard words of frequent occurrence, and see what light is cast upon them by our author. One of these, *Khésedh*, with its derivatives, it is important for the student of Old Testament religion to understand. The Revisers have used several

words to render it, including "loving-kindness," "mercy," "favour," and "goodness." It is, of course, impossible always to render it by the same English word, but we are inclined to agree with the American Company of Revisers that it would have been well to preserve the word "loving-kindness" wherever it is used of God, and perhaps "kindness" where it is used of men in relation to each other. On this word Canon Cheyne says, "It means, first of all, the covenant-love of Jehovah to those who know and serve Him; next, the covenant-love of a servant of Jehovah to his God; next, the love of Jehovah's fellow-servants among themselves" (Ps. iv. 4, p. 9). In Psalm xii. 2 a derivative word is rendered "man of love." The following note is appended:—

"Here for the first time we meet with the fine characteristic word *khásid*, which some scholars (represented in the margin of Revised Version, Psalm iv. 3) render 'one graced or favoured, viz., by God,' but which, as I must think, certainly means rather one who himself practises the virtue of *khésedh*. In l. 5 the phrase is equivalent to Israelite; here, however, it has the ethical sense which we find as early as Micah vii. 2, and as late as Sir. xxxix. 13, 24. There is no English word to express the full meaning of the Hebrew. I defend my paraphrase by a reference to Proverbs xi. 17: '*ish khésedh*, 'a man of love' (the love arising from the sense of a covenant relation). The 'godly' and 'saint' of King James's Bible fail to give the emotional tinge of Hebrew piety. Jehovah requires that a man should do his duty both to God and his brother-man with a certain warmth of feeling. Love and duty, then, are both implied. Compare 'love is *dutiful* in thought and deed.' Here, however, this duteous love finds its chief sphere among mankind" (pp. 29, 30).

We can only quote part of an instructive note on another word of importance, viz., "fool," which is of such frequent recurrence in the Books of Psalms and Proverbs. On Psalm xiv. 1, "The fool hath said in his heart," Canon Cheyne remarks:—

"One surely need not suppose that an individual is here stigmatized. 'Fool' (*nábhál*), like 'scoffer' (*lēg*), is a class-word; both words denote that kind of ungodliness which not only acts irreligiously, but justifies its irreligion on theoretic grounds, which grounds may be derived either from an erroneous view of the nature of Israel's God, or from an absolute negation of His existence. The 'fool' of Isaiah's time is defined in Isaiah xxxii. 6. The 'fool' of the Maccabean age was one who, like Antiochus Epiphanes,

insulted Jehovah and blasphemed His name from the point of an alien religion (Ps. lxxiv. 18). It is possible that Proverbs xxx. 1-4 are quoted from a poem by a post-exile scoffer of a third, the intellectualistic type. Now, to which class does the 'fool' of our passage belong? . . . The safest inference is that of Dr. Benisch: 'The utterance quoted is that of atheism characterizing an over-refined age, and seeking to reason away the existence of an avenging Deity. Compare Jeremiah v. 12, and see Psalm xxxvi. 2, lxiii. 11. With the last line compare Savonarola's fervid complaints: "Virtues are turned into vices, and vices into virtues. There is none that doeth good, no not one." May not this suggest that the Psalmist is a disciple of the prophets, and writes in the spirit of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 10, 14) and Jeremiah (Jer. v. 1, 23)?'

It is rather like showing a brick as a specimen of a house to offer these detached notes as specimens of Professor Cheyne's work. They will, however, give some idea of the suggestive way in which Hebrew words are treated, and of the insight which any careful English reader of this Commentary must get into the significance of words which he does not understand in the original. Sometimes a single line will let in a flood of light upon a familiar but ill-understood word. So on Psalm viii. 5: "*Visitest him.* 'Visitation' is the Hebrew equivalent for 'special providence' (Job x. 12): *cf.* Jas. i. 27, 'to visit (*i.e.*, to relieve) the fatherless.'" So, again, on Psalm xxxii. 1, 2, we are bidden to "observe the three terms for sin (compare verse 5 and li. 3-7, Exod. xxxiv. 7), which describe it (1) as a breaking loose from God; (2) as a missing of the right aim; (3) as perversion or distortion. To each of these a special term for forgiveness corresponds—(1) the taking away of sin; (2) its covering, or less probably, its obliteration; (3) its non-imputation in the great account" (p. 88). How suggestive, again, in a different way, is the following:—

"Psalm xciv. 19: '*When my mazy thoughts crowd within me, Thy consolations delight my soul.*' The subtlety of the human mind impressed Sophocles. It is a kindred reflection which forced itself on the Hebrew poets. Our own Keats speaks of '*branched thoughts*' ('Ode to Psyche'). The wanderings of thought, even in a good man, are dangerous (exxxix. 23, *same word*); they may even issue in hateful irreligion (exix. 113). Hence our Psalmist's failure to 'compose and quiet his soul' (exxxi. 2)."

Of course we cannot always agree even with a writer whose

work as a commentator we so thoroughly admire and at whose feet we are glad to sit. For instance, Dr. Cheyne seems to us very greatly to exaggerate the national element in the Psalms, and to be constantly on the look-out to find a national application for words which a personal meaning fits better every way. Of Psalm xi., "In the Lord put I my trust, how say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird unto your mountain," he says, "It is the church within the Jewish nation of which the poet thinks. The individualizing is merely poetical." This may be so, and in Psalm lxxvii. there is some ground for supposing that the troubles described in the early part were national, because the recollection of the deliverance wrought out for the nation is the subject of the latter portion, though in neither case are we fully persuaded, and it would not be difficult to make out a counter-case.* But what are we to say of the attempt to read a national meaning into the clearly personal language of the twenty-third Psalm, or of the comment on Psalm xli., "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," "The people of Israel is likened to a man who is dangerously sick!" The subject, no doubt, is one upon which a hasty judgment is to be deprecated. To the true Israelite, national and personal interests were very closely blended. The superficial reader of these songs of Israel is all too apt to rest in the personal application as the easy and obvious one; but Professor Cheyne seems to us to go much too far in the opposite direction, and his extreme in turn provokes reaction.

There are other topics on which we could, with all deference, venture to break a friendly lance with this able and eminent critic, but space is exhausted. We regret, further, that it is impossible to give an idea of the wealth of well-selected illustrations from the classics of various languages which make the reading of these notes both a delight and an education. The careful working up of those from Dante alone has proved to ourselves a source of perpetually renewed enjoyment. The extent to which Milton's diction, as well as that of many minor

* Of Psalm lxxvii. Perowne says, "It clearly is individual, not national. It utterly destroys all the beauty, all the tenderness and depth of feeling in the opening portion, if we suppose that the people are introduced speaking in the first person." But Cheyne, of course, does not mean this.

poets, has been influenced by the Psalter, can hardly be credited, till the subject is studied under a guide qualified as is Canon Cheyne. Keble's metrical version is from time to time quoted—a version containing many happy renderings, though it is strangely little known.

But we must bring our notice to a close, though our treatment of the subject is sadly incomplete. Canon Cheyne's Commentary on the Psalms must take its place at once with the very first English works on the subject. We might well omit the word "English," for, as we have said, the author exhibits all the German thoroughness of scholarship, while he adds qualities for which we search German writers in vain. In its present form, however, the book is incomplete, and for a full judgment we must await the promised further instalment. We have not hesitated, moreover, to express our own opinion that, as regards conjectural emendation of the text, and in the dates assigned to the Psalms generally, Professor Cheyne is unnecessarily revolutionary in his views, and too sweepingly destructive of traditional opinion. There is a fashion in Biblical criticism as in most things human, and extremes of fashion are dangerous, especially when, as in this case, the basis of fashionable scholarly opinion is not ascertained fact, but questionable hypothesis and subjective theory. We much prefer the caution of Delitzsch, the veteran Hebraist, to whom this work is dedicated, and whom Canon Cheyne clearly admires, though he does not follow him.

But a work like this must raise the standard of Old Testament study amongst us. All must learn much from it. It is to be hoped that scholars who agree with its critical views, and those who do not, will alike state their views and argue them out. The discussion could not but be beneficial, the more so because in Canon Cheyne we have a clergyman of orthodox belief on the great truths of Christianity, and one whose avowed object it is, while pressing the conclusions of reasoned criticism to the uttermost, to "hallow" the results of criticism, and prove their compatibility with reverent devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ and belief in the books of the Bible as the record of a continuous revelation from God, culminating in the gift of His Son to save the world. In any

case, no reader of Canon Cheyne's book can close it without the consciousness that he has been learning of one who is content himself to be a reverent worshipper before the shrine of sacred truth, while fearlessly using his reason to discover the exact facts concerning the vehicle in which that truth is conveyed to us. His reasoning may be correct or incorrect, his premisses may be true or false, and his conclusions may or may not commend themselves to other students of the Word. But such "criticism" as this must be of service to the cause of truth, and we value everything that will rouse men from an apathetic, mechanical, unworthy acceptance of the sacred words of Scripture, and make them think, and read, and learn, and pray. The Revised Version, the disturbing effect of which upon the minds of believers was feared by many, has proved a wonderful stimulus to Bible-study both amongst ministers and laymen. Modern criticism, if rightly used, should prove, in its own way, as healthy and effective a stimulus to that painstaking and thorough knowledge of the Bible which is all too rare, not amongst laymen only, but even amongst ministers of the Word. If those who would acquaint themselves with the results of modern criticism, and form a judgment of their own, naturally shrink from exposing their minds to the unsettling influences of rationalistic writers, they will find in Canon Cheyne "hallowed criticism" which will benefit both mind and heart, understanding and spirit. And no better specimen of his work can they find than this volume on *The Praises of Israel*.

ART. II.—ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning. By JOHN H. INGRAM.
(Eminent Women Series.) London: W. H. Allen
& Co.

THE literature of our day is rich beyond all precedent in biography. Never, perhaps, has public curiosity been keener as to the private history of famous people, and never

has there been a more obliging readiness to meet that curiosity. There are, however, some recent instances in which the surviving friends of distinguished persons have declined to gratify the popular craving for details of their lives; and it is to the most noticeable of such instances that Mr. Ingram invites our attention, in stating that during the twenty-seven years that have elapsed since Mrs. Browning's death, "nothing even claiming to be a biography of her has been published," though a few fragments of her literary correspondence have been given to the world. It is no accidental or negligent omission. Remembering the shy and tender mystery which involved the poetess during all her life—which was never lived in the world's eye—we may guess that those who still live to mourn this rare woman are little disposed to unbar the doors and let the broad day into the sacred shrine where her beloved memory is treasured. Such a feeling is worthy of respect; yet we cannot be sorry that at last a writer has been found to gather together, from more than twenty different sources, the fragments of information relating to that too brief existence, and to piece them into a mosaic, from which we can see how perfectly the character of Elizabeth Barrett Browning harmonized with her work. Not of her, as of many another great lyrist, could it be said that, giving "the people of her best," she kept the worst for herself and her home. Her soul was *white*—an eye-witness of her life* has lately said: not in the low conventional sense of purity was she pure, but in the loftier sense that in her spirit things ignoble and impure could find no lodgment—all was clean and lofty.

Such testimony does not surprise one familiar with her writings. Hardly can we read three pages of hers without becoming aware of an air breathing on us from some region higher and fairer than the common world of men—some sphere "where deep thought is a duty, and Love a grown-up god." It but satisfies expectation pleasantly to find this impression justified by the reality.

But while we are grateful to Mr. Ingram for his courage in giving us the "initial biography" of Mrs. Browning, and

* T. A. Trollope.

while we would not cavil at the inevitable shortcomings of a work for which the material was but scanty, we may permit ourselves the expression of a regret that his attitude should be much more critical than sympathetic towards the religion, most real and intense, which ruled the whole existence of this greatest known poetess. Some spiritual sympathy is needed to deal adequately with the life of one whose personality was so suffused, so interpenetrated, with the Christianity of Christ. She who could acknowledge what was good and excellent in thinkers so loose as Leigh Hunt, and moralists whose conduct was so faulty as George Sand's, should not be described as "bigoted" and "superstitious," because she accepted as historical the Old Testament narrative of the Fall, and retained her belief in the existence of angelic intelligences. Those whose "Christianity is confined to church and rubrics" might indeed have found her charity too wide, her views too unfettered for their taste. It is odd to find her indirectly censured for her recognition of the Divine Hand in the incidents of her life, every one of which she regarded, we are told, "as a direct interposition of the Deity." An apter phrase than this might be found to describe her happy consciousness of the Heavenly Father's ceaseless care—

"Earth's crammed with Heaven,
And every common bush afire with God,
But only he who sees takes off his shoes."

Because *she* saw and worshipped, shall it be lawful to speak of her "excess of faith" as leading her to misjudge "the best about her"? Few were those whom she judged more hardly than they deserved—many those whose faults her compassion condoned. For her errors of judgment, her impulsive nature and secluded life are rightly answerable—not her sublime trust in God and His word.

We turn now gladly to the story which Mr. Ingram's book sets before us—to the poetess and her work.

The little controversy that has arisen between Mr. Robert Browning and his wife's biographer as to the exact date and place of her birth is more amusing than important. Whether Mr. Ingram is right in assigning the event to London as the

place and 1809 as the year—or Mr. Browning, in preferring Carlton Hall and 1806—are matters which may be safely left to the original disputants. More interesting is the fact, that one of the boldest champions of the oppressed, one of the truest advocates of freedom, should have been the child of a wealthy West Indian slave-owner. It was not, however, the evil fate of Elizabeth Barrett to grow up in the poisonous atmosphere of slavery. Wherever was her birthplace, her home, up to the period of her marriage, was England.

Her father, Edward Moulton-Barrett, acquired not long after his daughter Elizabeth's birth the estate of Hope End, near Ledbury, Herefordshire. Its situation, in a retired valley not far from the Malvern Hills, had considerable beauty of the "sweet, familiar" kind so tenderly described in *Aurora Leigh*; the "deep hills—green slope built on slope," the "nooks of valleys," full of the noise of invisible streams, the "open pastures," where white daisies and white dew vied with each other in the early dawn; the "most gentle dimplement" of the ground; the "mythic oaks and elm-trees standing out, self-poised upon their prodigy of shade." Here, in the midst of these soft pastoral scenes, Elizabeth lived until she had "passed twenty by several years"; here she spent a childhood that must have been exquisitely happy, and in that respect in sharp contrast to the girlhood experiences of the heroine of her "fictitious autobiography," the lonely and orphaned *Aurora*. There were many sweet playfellows, brothers and sisters; there was a mother, most gentle, though burdened with too much motherly care, and of fragile health; there was the child's heaven of green fields, woods, and gardens outside the house, and within it great treasures of books, and a proud, loving, encouraging, if despotic father, who promoted only too willingly the studies of his pretty precocious child, and triumphed when—like the poet who first took her childish fancy—she "lisped in numbers." It was her delight in Pope's *Homer* that threw her, she says, "into Pope on one side, and Greek on the other, and into Latin as a help to Greek."

The Greeks "became her demi-gods;" the shade of mythic Agamemnon mingled more in her dreams than the dear pony who carried her over English ground. Her first great poetic

effort (at the age of ten !) was an "epic, in four books," on the Battle of Marathon ; and of the two most charming poems inspired by her childish joys, one relates the fashioning by her little hands, out of garden turf and flowers, of a giant shape, which she called "Hector, son of Priam," and invested with helmet of daffodils and sword of white lilies, breastplate of daisies and belt of periwinkles. So Alexander Pope, by the sweet fluent verse of his Englished Homer—false to the great original as it may be, yet delightful to boys and girls—opened for the child-poet the way to such large and liberal culture as hardly any English poetess had known before.

Elizabeth Barrett's health, never very vigorous, gave way rather suddenly when she was about fifteen, owing, as one authority tells us, to an accident which injured the spine ; but she herself attributed her long invalidism to a "common cough, striking on an insubstantial frame." Whatever the cause, the outdoor world she had found so dear and beautiful became more or less a lost paradise for her during many subsequent years. Just, however, when the doors of her first Eden seemed closing on her, other gates of delight were opening for her entrance. "Her father obtained for her an introduction to the well-known Greek scholar, Hugh Stuart Boyd," who, though blind, was "a profound student and accomplished author." There grew up a very beautiful friendship, embalmed by Elizabeth in grateful verse, between the fair young girl and the blind scholar, who took delight in making this rarely gifted creature free of the "realms of gold," ruled over by the greatest Hellenes, of days both before and after Christ. Not only the great tragedians, "the thunderous" *Æschylus*, "Sophocles, the royal, Euripides, the human"—not only Theocritus, Pindar, Bion, Plato ; but Chrysostom and Basil, Synesius and Nazianzen, and others less well known were studied by the strangely matched pair, during those long fair mornings, at Hope End, among the Malvern Hills, lovingly commemorated by Elizabeth Barrett in her poem, *Wine of Cyprus*. This manly training did so much for the most womanly of women, it so enriched and so liberalized her mind, that her example may be boldly cited by those educationists who would gladly secure for every human being, with powers worthy of large

development, a share of the same kind of culture, which some would fain restrict to men only, and some would banish altogether in favour of a merely utilitarian instruction.

Her love for the Greek poets, whose majestic verse charmed so many of her hours and widened her mental horizon so grandly, betrayed her once or twice, however, into literary errors. The *Prometheus Bound* was in her mind when she fixed on the theme, of superhuman difficulty, which she tried to illustrate in her early dramatic effort, *The Seraphim*, wherein she pictured angelic bands sweeping earthward, to gaze, in wonder and love and awe, on the "decease accomplished at Jerusalem" by the world's Redeemer—a spectacle immeasurably grander than that of the immortally defiant sufferer riveted to the rocks of Caucasus, there to bear the immortal hate of a hostile Deity; but by its awful spiritual superiority unfit for such handling as the great and gloomy Greek bestowed on the Prometheus myth. Her dream was not true, that the "sublime meekness" of the Saviour, whose "agony stood dumb before His love," could have won the poetic homage of the thunderous *Æschylus*; yet that she should have dreamed such a dream shows that, for all her Hellenic lore, her thought in its essence was never Hellenized, but remained intensely modern and Christian; and her poem, though a failure, is better than any nineteenth century waxen reproduction of the Greek, since it expresses living thought and feeling.

While she was "eating and drinking Greek, and making her head ache with it; gathering visions from Plato and the dramatists;" learning the methods of English verse from Pope and Byron and Coleridge; and trying her own wings in ambitious poetic flights, not yet original, some of which attained the dignity of print; the fast-flying years were bringing her her first real sorrow. On the 1st of October, 1828, her mother died, leaving eight sons and daughters orphaned of her mild beneficent presence, which was not the less missed because she had been impartially loving to all, instead of following her husband in concentrating her proud affection on one royally gifted child.

It would seem that Elizabeth had spent some time in France,

completing her education there, when a new but lesser misfortune called her to a new change of scene. Mr. Barrett had been wealthy, but the emancipation of the West Indian slaves so impaired his means that a change in his style of living seemed desirable. He broke up his establishment at Hope End, and thenceforth his family became town-dwellers. Two years they spent at Sidmouth; then they removed to London, settling at Gloucester Place; and until her marriage in 1846 London remained Miss Barrett's home. The touch of grief, that great stern teacher, and the transition from a rural solitude to the stirring world of men, would seem to have ripened her genius with surprising suddenness.

Her work ceased to be imitative, and began to show its native grandeur and grace. Already at Sidmouth the original poems, published in 1833, along with her ambitious but inadequate version of the *Prometheus Bound*, were not unworthy of her future fame. She had done far more nobly, however, five years later, in the poems then collected and published in a volume. Here, again, the most audacious effort—*The Seraphim*—can only be called a failure; but the passion and the pathos of such song-bursts as *Isabel's Child* and *Cowper's Grave* have hardly been exceeded by their writer at her best. In the *Romaunt of Margret*, full of a weird haunting suggestiveness that baffles analysis, Mrs. Barrett successfully employed a manner which reproduces the charm of many a wild old ballad—such as *The Cruel Sister*, with its recurring wail of “Binnorie, O Binnorie”—a manner in which neither Edgar Poe nor Dante Rossetti has surpassed her. There is something morbid, something of the Medusa-terror, breathing from this *Romaunt*, and, again, from the rarely perfect *Lay of the Brown Rosary*, which followed it a few years later; a certain fantastic strain of imagination which reminds us that the conditions of the writer's life had become increasingly exceptional, so, indeed, as to be almost unnatural.

London was not all unkind to Elizabeth Barrett; the vast and terrible city, whose strange material and moral picturesqueness she keenly appreciated, for all its grimness, enriched her as the lovely loneliness of Hope End could not do; it gave to her some priceless literary friendships, it opened to her a sphere

of real work in the world of letters, it brought her finally the crowning love of her life ; but it completed the wreck of her frail health.

Through the genial and wealthy John Kenyon, a distant relative of the Barretts, and a great lover and entertainer of poets and artists, the young poetess was made acquainted with many celebrities of the day, some of whom, like Wordsworth, she revered at a distance, while with others, such as Mary Russell Mitford and R. H. Horne, she entered into close friendship and alliance. It was Kenyon, too, who smoothed for his cousin Elizabeth the first steps of her true author life, securing acceptance and notice for her works from the best existing literary journals ; it was he finally who introduced Robert Browning to Elizabeth Barrett, and so, all unwittingly, broke for her the doors of the prison in which shattered health and over-solicitous parental tenderness had enclosed her. For all these services the lovers of high and pure literature owe gratitude to John Kenyon, that cheerful keen-witted man of the world, large-hearted and benevolent, who deserved, said Robert Browning, " to be known all over the world as Kenyon the Magnificent." He, however, with all his energetic helpfulness, could not avert from his lovely and beloved young relative the overhanging doom of long years to be passed in physical suffering, due to mental anguish and over-excitement quite as much as to original delicacy of constitution, unfavourably affected by the atmosphere of London.

When Miss Mitford first met Elizabeth Barrett the latter must have been a rarely attractive creature ; the elder lady's letters dwell with rapture on the exquisite delicacy of form, the richness of colouring, the dark radiancy of glance, which, with the noble brow and the sunlike smile, made the shy modest songstress as delightful to look upon as " some bright flower." This flower-like fairness was short-lived as any rose, unhappily. Even while Miss Barrett was working for Miss Mitford at the extraordinary task of illustrating, with poems written to order, *Finden's Tableaux of National Character* (it is wonderful to find that the *Romaunt of the Page* was produced in this way), she was suddenly brought to the very

brink of the grave with lung disease. Carried down to Torquay to escape the London winter in 1838, and tended there with the most lavish tenderness by her brother Edward, always loving and beloved by her, "worthy in heart and talent of such a sister," and by the father who held her the dearest jewel of his life, she gathered bodily strength very slowly, though her mental vigour and activity seemed hardly at all affected by her physical prostration. Flowing, ebbing, flowing again, the tide of her life was at last setting steadily towards recovery, when, in the summer of 1840, there fell on her, like "a bolt from the blue," the calamity which all but slew her, and "gave a nightmare to her life for ever."

It was the 11th of July, and a Saturday, when, their father being absent, Edward Barrett left his sister's side for a short summer's day cruise along the beautiful shores of Devon. Two comrades were with him, a young Mr. Vanneck and a Captain Clarke; they took an experienced pilot, named White, to manage the pleasure yacht they had hired, the *Belle Sauvage*, a well-tried swift sailer; there seemed no risk in the little expedition. But the *Belle Sauvage* and her crew never saw Torquay again. Elizabeth Barrett, lonely and helpless on her couch, looked vainly for her brother's return till night came down, till the new morning came bringing new terror; hours on hours rolled over her, each bearing its own weight of darkening apprehension, and still no news. Then came a whisper that such a yacht had been seen to sink near Teignmouth, and inquiry brought definite evidence that it was even so. Elizabeth's father had now arrived, and joined with the other bereaved ones in stimulating search. At last, on the 8th of July, the drowned corpse of Captain Clarke was recovered, but Edward Barrett was not found till the 4th of August. More than three weeks had passed since in the fulness of life he had left his sister for a few hours' absence. His remains, with those of his comrade and of the pilot White, lie in the parish church of Tormohun, Torquay. Young Charles Vanneck, "the only son of his mother, and she a widow," seems never to have been found.

In this woful tale there is a resemblance to the equally piteous story of Shelley's death; but here it was the over-

sensitive heart and brain of a poet-survivor that had to bear the sickening alternations of hope and fear, culminating in despair. What those three weeks of wretchedness had been to Elizabeth Barrett may be imagined, but not expressed. One thought gave a poisoned edge to her misery: but for her, this most beloved brother would not have been beside the beautiful traitorous sea—would not have been tempted to sail on it; and she writhed herself on this thought with the self-torturing persistency too common in the bereaved; while her extreme prostration forbade any attempt to remove her, and perforce she lay within hearing of the sea, the sound of whose waves “rang in her ears like the moans of one dying.” At last, a full year after the catastrophe, she had recovered sufficient strength to risk a journey, and was successfully transported to her father’s house in Wimpole Street, London. Here, however, she remained a helpless and, as it seemed, a hopeless prisoner for well-nigh five years. Writing to Horne, who wanted some biographical particulars from her, she likened her existence to that of “a bird in a cage”—a darkened cage, too—for daylight was one of the common blisses she could no longer safely share. But the nightingale-notes which this caged bird poured forth became ever sweeter and fuller and more triumphant in their power. The blow which had almost killed her had not crushed.

The secret of the strength which upheld her has been fully revealed in her verse. The poem, *De Profundis*, which, as dealing too intimately with her bereavement, was not published till after her death, is indeed a cry from the deeps—a heart-piercing wail of mere misery at first, but changing and soaring and swelling into a song of love and praise to Him who wore “the crown of sovran thorns,” confiding in whom, as “supreme Love,” the mourner is content to say:

“For us—whatever’s undergone,
Thou knowest, wildest what is done.
Grief may be joy misunderstood;
Only the Good discerns the good.
I trust Thee while my days go on.”

Without this impassioned faith it is hard to see how Elizabeth Barrett could have lived and could have worked; but, taking

cognizance of it, we put our finger on "the very pulse of the machine." For into her inevitable consciousness of high poetic power was interwoven an equal sense of responsibility for the use of it; and her steadfast intention to use the gift nobly, for the praise of the great Giver and the uplifting of her fellow-creatures, never faltered. So, as the deadly frost of anguish melted from her benumbed spirit under the shining of Heaven's love, she rose up straightway, and set herself to the appointed business of her life.

"I did not die: But slowly, by degrees,
I woke, rose up where was I? in the world;
For uses, therefore, I must count worth while."

So we may hear her speaking, at this crisis, in the words of her own *Aurora*. Her fresh loveliness was faded, her womanly existence blighted in mid-bloom, her horizon narrowed down to the four walls of a sick-room; the roar of the great world reached her only in subdued echoes through the mediation of a few cherished intimates; she lived chiefly by the help of books. But the intellectual life that was thus nourished was of the most astonishing intensity, the most restless activity; it was precisely in those prisoned years of feebleness and suffering that some of her most enduring work was done.

For it was the two volumes of verse which she put forth in 1844 which at once conquered for her the popularity she never lost. Moxon, who had hesitated about publishing them, since "Tennyson was the only poet he did not lose by," had no reason to regret his venture; nor had the American publisher, who had dared to print fifteen hundred copies. We have to discount all Mrs. Browning's wide-spread influence on the poets and the prose writers of our day, before we can realize what must have been the fresh original charm of these volumes when they first appeared. Here was the immortal *Cry of the Children*—that indictment of national cruelty, so wonderful in its terrible simplicity, its white-hot passion of pity, which Miss Barrett was inspired to write by her friend Horne's *Report to Government on the employment of children in mines and factories*, and which is said to have hastened, by its first appearance in *Blackwood*, the passing of the initial Act to restrain

the practices denounced. Here was the richly coloured, impassioned, impossible, and beautiful *Lady Geraldine's Courtship* —a poet's protest against the tyrannic conventionalities of society; here the half-pathetic, half-humorous *Romance of the Swan's Nest*, whose prettiest of child-heroines teaches us that the child-heart lived on in Elizabeth Barrett; here the *Lay of the Brown Rosary*, so steeped in the dreamy light of other days; here the sweet, homely tenderness of *Bertha in the Lane*, contrasted with the passion of Love and Death in the *Rhyme of the Duchess May*. To-day, these poetic narratives are still dear to the public, which at once seized on them in 1844, heeding but little the other strains—high, mystical, devotional—which mingled with them, though among these might be verse so majestic as that of the *Vision of Poets*, the *Cry of the Human*, the *Fourfold Aspect*, the *Dead Pan*. This popular preference fully justified Miss Mitford in her unwelcome advice to the poetess to choose themes concerned with "human thought and human action," and not to spend her strength on the psychological and the mystical. Miss Barrett, however, who found her own thoughts more exciting and more interesting than any chain of outside incident, cared little for narrative, and was not skilled in constructing it, such plots as she did weave being slight and often improbable. Her highest hopes for these volumes had rested on her half-forgotten *Drama of Exile*, in which she dared to take up the tale of Eden where Milton had left it—outside the gates of Paradise. It has many splendid passages, but it proved something too high-fantastical for the public taste, and, though a much grander failure than its predecessor, *The Seraphim*, it is still a failure.

Elizabeth Barrett, it must be owned, had the defects of her qualities. That beautiful audacity of hers, that independence and originality, by virtue of which she achieved many shining successes, under less fortunate inspirations displayed themselves in somewhat exasperating perversities. She had insisted on wasting herself upon the thankless task of resuscitating the "Greek Christian Poets" and their forgotten verse in a series of papers for the *Athenaeum* of 1842; she

had shown herself quietly intractable to the friendliest counsel on the choice of her subjects, and no critical opposition could deter her from employing rhymes as harsh as "a dry wheel grating on an axle-tree."

There is perhaps no pleasanter bit of reading among her letters to Horne than her serious yet laughing defence of her barbarous double-rhymes against the attacks of the genial fellow-worker, with whom she had toiled at his *Chaucer Modernized* and his *New Spirit of the Age*. Those jarring dissonances which had set his teeth on edge were not, she told him, due to negligence or ignorance of hers; no—she was deliberately aiming to enrich the poor English repertory of lawful rhymes on a carefully thought-out plan. And she clave to her plan to the last. In like manner, it was in vain that such a master of word-melody as Edgar Poe, while rendering all homage to her poetic inspiration as "the most august conceivable," remonstrated with her on her technical shortcomings, especially in respect of rhythm. "He seems in a great mist on the subject of metre," was her comment, and she continued to take her own way in the matter. The same strong self-determining quality swayed her on much more important questions. Let her once take up an opinion or a person, and her allegiance to the one and the other never faltered. "If that woman," said Landor, provoked at her steadfast belief in the Third Napoleon, "put her faith in a man as good as Jesus, and he should become as wicked as Pontius Pilate, she would not change it." And as it was with her trust in Louis Napoleon, so it was with her faith in Spiritualism, when once she had convinced herself of its reality. Not even the "sharp touch" of Robert Browning's hostile logic could materially disturb her conviction.

But she showed herself amenable to the logic of events on one point at least. The *Drama of Exile* was her last attempt to treat Biblical subjects dramatically.

For the rest, the poetess, whose fame had risen to high flood-tide throughout the English-speaking world, had little need to brood sadly over occasional failures. "The critics have been kind and generous to me," she frankly confessed. Also

her success brought her into touch with many new admirers, not less distinguished than those earlier friends, Miss Mitford, R. H. Horne, Landor, and poor Haydon, the tragedy of whose life and death had brought the world's darkest trouble into her hermit life. Some of her newly won devotees, not content with mere letters, contrived to gain admission into her presence. It hardly seems as if Harriet Martineau had been one of these, though her courage, her ability, and her enthusiasm had aroused the admiring interest of Miss Barrett, who had no previsions of the lady's later course. Mrs. Jameson, however, did succeed in breaking down the invalid's shy defences by help of Kenyon; and so, apparently in the same year (1846), did Robert Browning. He had been for some time in correspondence with the inspired recluse, who, by two lines in *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, had showed that she ranked him with the noblest singers of the day; now at last he saw and spoke with her. Faded cheek and wasted frame could not blind him to the imperishable charm possessed by this "soul of fire enclosed in a shell of pearl," as the American Hillard described her.

The time has not come—perhaps it never may come—when the story of that swift, surprising love, which was crowned by the marriage of the two poets in that very year, can be wholly told. Enough can be divined from those exquisite love-sonnets of Elizabeth Barrett, whose superscription, "From the Portuguese," is the most innocent, ineffectual veil of their author's identity; enough can be gathered from the bolder allusions, tender and proud, of which Robert Browning was not sparing, and which, amid the tantalizing obscurity of his style, stand out plain and eloquent enough, telling how deep and fervent was his worship for his

"Lyric Love, half angel and half bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire."

"Love is a virtue for heroes," wrote Mrs. Browning—one of the last things she wrote. Love, as she knew it, was of that sort; an idealizing passion, clothed in humility, pure as fire and strong as death—nay, stronger. By its aid she was

restored to the living world; the shadowy chamber where, calmly and resignedly, she lay awaiting her summons to "come up higher," was suddenly invaded by another messenger than the Angel of Doom; and the exquisite happiness which she had ceased to regard as possible for her, with her thirty-seven years of age and her helpless weakness, was put before her to take or to leave. She faltered a little in making her choice, and tried to bid the bright new visitant depart; but the struggle was not long.

"On the 12th September, 1846, Elizabeth Barrett was married, at the Marylebone parish church, to Robert Browning, and immediately after the newly wedded pair started for Italy by way of Paris."

"Love really is the wizard the poets have called him," said Miss Mitford, wondering over the "miraculous" fact that her friend bore all the fatigues of the long journey without injury, arriving in Pisa so much better, that Mrs. Jameson, who travelled with the Brownings, found the bride "not merely improved, but transformed."

There was one discord in life's music, and one cloud on its sunshine, for the new-made wife. It reads like irony, like harsh satire, that, while Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "pretty sportive friend," the spaniel Flush, fond consoler of many a languid hour in her sick-room, went with her over sea and shared her happier fortune, the dear father who had surrounded her with loving care all her life long, who had fostered her genius and gloried in it, who had lavished his heart and his wealth on her, could yet never forgive her for having left his home to share Robert Browning's. After the day of his daughter's marriage, Mr. Barrett shut up his tenderness from her; he would not open her letters, he would not hear her name spoken; and when, in 1856, he died, no sign of relenting reached her, nor did her name occur in his will. But such small injury as this omission might have inflicted on Mrs. Browning's worldly welfare had been already warded off by the generous forethought of John Kenyon. At his death, which preceded Mr. Barrett's, the Brownings inherited from him the "acceptable sum" of £10,500.

Doubtless a single tender message from her alienated father

would have been far more precious to the poetess ; and the obstinacy in anger of one so well beloved must have infused sufficient bitterness into her bliss to make her very soberly sad at times ; otherwise the fifteen years of her wedded life might have seemed too bright. In all outward circumstances that life was rarely beautiful, the testimony of every eye-witness calling up a picture that for poetic charm and harmonious completeness seems hardly to belong to the work-a-day world. The events of those rich and happy years are few indeed.

After a brief sojourn at Pisa, the Brownings settled themselves at Florence, in Casa Guidi, the romantic old palace made world-famous by their abode in it. Here, on the 9th of March, 1849, was born Mrs. Browning's one child, a son, who was named Robert Barrett ; here she wrote *Casa Guidi Windows*, the greater part of *Aurora Leigh*, and the *Poems before Congress*. A few visits to England, and to other Italian cities besides Florence, fill up the slender calendar of personal occurrences, which suddenly closes with her death, on the 29th of June, 1861. It is to her poems that we have to turn to see what an intense quick-throbbing intellectual life filled all the interspaces of those uneventful years, while the testimony of a new circle of gifted sympathizing friends who were made free of Casa Guidi shows us what a rich, full, satisfying home-life was hers within its antique walls. Many of the new friends were Americans—Bayard Taylor ; Harriet Hosmer and W. W. Story, the sculptors ; Nathaniel Hawthorne and his wife. To these last we owe the most vivid pictures of the Browning household. By their aid we enter Casa Guidi doors, and, meeting in the hall the little Robert, beautiful with an aërial elfin beauty, are piloted by him into the great dim tapestried drawing-room, with its rich and quaint furnishings, its books and pictures, its balcony full of blooming plants and sunshine. Here we meet the manly genial master of the house, "the grasp of whose hand gives a new value to life ;" and then dawns upon us she who is the heart and soul of all, a slight, delicate, dark figure, with "sweet, sad eyes; musing and far-seeing and weird," shining out through a veil of curls. "It is wonderful to see how small she is, how pale her cheek, how bright and dark her eyes. There is not such another

figure in the world," says Hawthorne, who found her "a good and kind fairy, sweetly disposed towards the human race," and fit mother of the lovely little Ariel, Robert, whom for fondness his parents called Pennini, "a diminutive of Apennino," the name sportively given to him in his babyhood, "because he was so very small; there being a statue in Florence of colossal size called Apennino." Mrs. Browning's deep mother-love for this child, beautiful in soul as in body, might in a smaller nature have become an all-absorbing passion. But the boy, of whom she was "more proud than of twenty *Auroras*," never dispossessed his father of his place in her affections, nor lessened her interest in large impersonal matters.

"Books and humanity," says Story, "great deeds, and, above all, politics, which include all the grand questions of the day, were foremost in her thoughts, and, therefore, oftenest on her lips. I speak not of religion, for with her everything was religion. . . . Association with the Brownings, even though of the slightest nature, made one better in mind and soul."

The interests of Italy took the largest place among those great "questions of the day" for Mrs. Browning. Italy, where she had found "freedom and sunshine"—Italy, her married home, the birthplace of her boy—Italy, which, like a sweet foster-mother, had nursed her into new life, soon grew so dear to her that not England itself was dearer. She, who had long ago sportively called herself "a very fierce Radical," brought her strong love for freedom and humanity, her eager aspiration, into the fair land just when it began to heave and tremble with the volcanic forces of revolution; and the great upheaval of 1848 aroused in her, as in the Italians themselves, the most passionate hopes for their national unity and regeneration, while she mourned, as they did, over the black reactionary eclipse which so quickly overshadowed those hopes. To these mingled feelings she gave language in *Casa Guidi Windows*, the first part of which, full of eager gladness, not untouched with apprehension, was written two years before the second, sad and stern, but still hopeful, which was completed and published in 1851. Her work, written in a measure modelled on Dante's own, though its rough English rhymes lack his mighty music, has in many passages a prophetic grandeur of

style not unworthy of the great Florentine, whom she did not fear to follow in weighty indictments of Papal iniquity ; but her numerous allusions to local Italian history and politics lost their power for English readers unfamiliar with such matters ; nor could some of her old admirers sympathize with her protest against the false hollow peace under which nations still lay crushed into slavery, with her appeal to the "Lord of Peace, who is Lord of Righteousness," to "give us peace which is no counterfeit." The poem, therefore, did not achieve a great success, but it remains a noble and valuable revelation of Mrs. Browning's inmost opinion on certain vital matters, bearing a clear witness against the false claims of Sacerdotalism on the one hand, and the godless and lawless methods of the unbelieving revolutionary on the other. Now that the sweeter words of far-seeing hope for Italy with which this song closes have found a large fulfilment, while its fiery denunciations strike at tyrannies that have been overthrown, the auto-biographic value of the poem is its best claim to consideration.

The same thing cannot be said of *Aurora Leigh*, which was designedly autobiographic, in spirit though not in form, and which its author describes as "the most mature of her works, the one into which her highest convictions upon Life and Art have entered." Those convictions are themselves so full of interest, they are expressed with so much splendour and power, and the story, faulty as its construction may be, yet sweeps on its way with such a strong current of passion, that *Aurora Leigh* must ever keep its place as a very great poetic achievement, in despite of time and time's changes.

Taking a woman-poet, half English, half Italian, and wholly enthusiastic, as her heroine ; consigning her in early girlhood to the austere guardianship of an English lady-aunt, whose mental horizon is well walled in with mere proprieties ; and giving to the poetess, Aurora, the true-hearted but quixotic philanthropist Romney Leigh for cousin and lover ; Mrs. Browning succeeded in making the action of these characters subserve the enforcement of her cherished opinions as to the rightful place of woman in the social scheme, the education best fitted to develop her powers beneficially, and the noble mission entrusted to the true poet, whose power to uplift and

to purify, being exercised through the imagination and affections, she exalts far above that of the philanthropist, whose aim is merely to amend the temporal condition of the world's outcasts. Her doctrine as to this last article has not commanded the widest acceptance; but undoubtedly she held it with firm allegiance, and lived and worked in its spirit, with results that do much to justify it. The pathetic figure of Marian Erle—"the daughter of the people—soft flower from rough root," who, growing up pure and good amid foul surroundings by mere grace of heaven, is betrayed to shame, trodden down into the world's mud, and yet never defrauded of her God-given purity of soul—is made to emphasize our writer's steadfast condemnation of the false factitious morality of society, and the unequal justice of the world to high-placed and low-placed womanhood; and it serves its purpose well. Borne away on the flood of the writer's indignant eloquence, we do not care to ask if this poor Marian and the Lady Waldemar, beautiful and unscrupulous worldling, who does so much to destroy her, are natural or probable characters; they are very living; and their diverse merits and fortunes are far, indeed, from being impossible in fact.

Passages of inspired insight, of stinging satire, of sublime fervour abound in this long poem, and would light up a far feebler narrative. There are serious faults also; the blank verse, sometimes Shakespearean in its majesty, is sometimes tame and flat as Byron's in his most prosaic mood; there are some needless digressions; there is much appalling plainness of speech. Admitting these defects, we may not improperly quote Mrs. Browning's own defence as to the often repeated charge of her "reckless" use of sacred names—a charge which her biographer emphasizes against *Aurora Leigh*. She held that Christ, by stooping to live man's life, has made it sacramental; that to name God's name reverently is no offence; "that the *word* God, being everywhere in His creation, and at every moment in His eternity, an appropriate word, could not be uttered unfitly, if devoutly."

And she made a duty of protesting, by action and word, against "the tendency to sunder the daily life from the spiritual creed," which she recognized in the decorous avoiding of any

mention of things divine and of divine persons—out of church. We must not forget how strong her convictions were on this matter, when we criticize her constant introduction of sacred names, not in *Aurora Leigh* alone. It is no light or thoughtless practice with her.

After *Aurora Leigh*, published in 1857, Mrs. Browning gave the world only the sheaf of verses published as *Poems before Congress*. The bulk of these, relating to Italian politics, and inspired by feelings well-nigh too intense for expression, have as many defects as beauties, and by their publication in 1860 did something to impair her popularity with her own countrymen. The adoring faith they expressed in the Third Napoleon, who appeared to Mrs. Browning, through a mist of imaginative glory, as the chivalrous friend of Italy, was not shared by many English minds. Had their writer lived, she could not have escaped a cruel disillusion as to the real character of him whom she hailed as the crowned head of a noble democracy, "with the people's heart in his breast." But hers was a fairer fate. She saw Italy uplifted, freed, triumphant; she saw the lovely land which she had taken so completely into her love and pity become the heritage of a living united nation once more; she did not see the Napoleon, whom she gratefully regarded as the saviour of her second fatherland, discredited both as a man and a monarch, and cast down from the high place of which he was found unworthy.

Her death, which took place almost suddenly, very early on a June morning of 1861, is said to have been actually hastened by the ill-omened Treaty of Villafranca. "She never," says Mr. Story, "fully shook off the severe attack of illness occasioned by this check upon her life-hopes;" and, precarious as her health always was, and intense as were her feelings, it is very possible indeed that this friendly observer was right; yet long life could not have been hers under the most favouring circumstances.

"I do not understand how she can live long," Mrs. Hawthorne had written. "Her delicate earthly vesture must soon be burnt up and destroyed by her soul of pure fire. . . . Her soul is mighty, and a great love has kept her on earth a season

longer ; but how she remains visible to us, with so little admixture of earth, is a mystery."

It is fully in harmony with the beautiful tenor of her life that she seems to have passed away at last in a species of ecstasy. Her husband alone watched over her during her last night on earth, and to him, " though not apparently conscious of the coming on of death, she gave all those holy words of love, all the consolation of an oft-repeated blessing, whose value death has made priceless." Lifting herself up at last to die in his arms, she breathed out her soul in the words, " It is beautiful ! "

" Grateful Florence " has adorned the house where she died with a marble slab, whose golden letters commemorate the service her " golden verse " did to Italy. A nobler monument is in the works left to us by this woman-poet, endowed as superbly as ever poet was with " the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love," and who, in virtue of her crowning endowment of steadfast reverent faith and love, produced, amid a life of suffering, poems whose serenity of triumphant hope and gladness furnishes the most astonishing and beautiful contrast to the heart-chilling and melancholy pessimism which destroys all the use and value of the verse, technically very perfect, produced by far too many of our later unbelieving singers, both men and women. We can but pray that God may have mercy on these erring poet-souls ; but for the work of one like Elizabeth Barrett Browning we may justly give Him thanks.

ART. III.—AN ELIZABETHAN ASTROLOGER.

WHAT Englishman does not know the fame of Mortlake ? The sleepy village wakes up once a year to find itself the most popular place in England. Few visitors, however, of all the crowds who come to watch the University crews fight out the last round of their water-duel in front of the " Ship Inn," are aware of the historic associations of the village which was the home of Lanfranc and Anselm. A prosperous

brewery stands on the ground once covered by the archiepiscopal palace and church. Only a baptismal font, bearing the arms of Archbishop Bouchier, and some quaint customs, such as the ringing of the "pancake-bell" on Shrove Tuesday, survive to remind one of its venerable traditions.

Our business, however, is not with prelates; we are to keep far different company. Few figures that flit across the stage in Queen Elizabeth's reign are so interesting as that of the learned and ingenious man who was known at home and on the Continent as the Mortlake Astrologer. The village must have been a tiny place when he fixed his quarters there. Even at the close of last century, whilst Horace Walpole was writing, "there will soon be one street from London to Brentford," it had only 301 houses, with 1766 inhabitants. Dee's house was near the river, on the north side of the present High Street. His laboratory, which witnessed many a strange experiment in the occult sciences, stood nearer the church, on the west side of the present Queen's Head Court; his garden, on the opposite side of the main road, ran up almost to the church doors. Sir Richard Phillips, who visited Mortlake in 1817, discovered many traces of the once-renowned astrologer. "I went," he says, "into the house now more than two hundred years old, and found it to be a ladies' school," kept by a Mrs. Dubois.

"Parts of the room still exhibited the architecture of the sixteenth century, one being decorated with the red and white roses; and from the front window I saw the garden on the other side of the road attached to the house, and down the central path of which, through the iron gates, still standing, Queen Elizabeth used to walk from the Sheen Road."

Dee was no ordinary man. Isaac Disraeli * justly says that he "has suffered hard measure from those who have only judged of him in the last days of his unprotected distress." The upper classes in Elizabeth's reign regarded him as a learned philosopher. The Queen herself consulted him and took lessons in his art; the sailors and travellers who helped to make her reign famous were in constant communication with him; Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the royal

* *Amenities of Literature*, iii. 192.

lover—Dudley, Earl of Leicester—were his warm friends. But the common people resented his presence among them, broke into his house when his back was turned—for a mob in those days was no match for a magician—and destroyed his precious manuscripts and scientific instruments. Poor Dee! The great flattered him, but made no adequate provision for his needs. He was a hanger-on to the skirts of fortune who deserved a better fate.

According to a pedigree of his own construction, which is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS., Dee belonged to the race of the Tudors, and was cousin to Queen Bess herself. It is at any rate certain that he was the grandson of the great Bedo Dee, standard-bearer to the Lord de Ferrars at the battle of Tournay. Francis Dee, Bishop of Peterborough, who also was descended from Bedo Dee, was the astrologer's cousin. Rowland Dee, gentleman sewer to Henry VIII., or according to other accounts a wealthy London vintner, was the astrologer's father. The boy was born in London, on July 13, 1527, and mastered his Latin there and at Chelmsford. He was then sent to Cambridge, "to begin with logick and so to proceede in the learning of good arts and sciences." Such is his own account in his *Compendious Rehearsal*. So great was the ardour of the young student, that he spent eighteen hours a day with his books, "except the time of going to and being at divine service"—for Dee was then, as always, devout. For three years he only allowed himself four hours sleep each night. "Meate and drink (and some refreshing after)" claimed two hours more. This was a severe beginning of a studious life. But the exertions of this period do not seem to have injured his constitution. Dee lived to the age of eighty-one, and enjoyed excellent health.

Having taken his bachelor's degree, Dee went abroad in 1547 to visit the learned men of the time, especially the mathematicians of the Low Countries. After some months' pleasant intercourse with them he returned, bringing back not a few treasures—"the first astronomer's staff of brass that was made of Gemma Frisius' devising, the two great globes of Gerardus Mercator's making, and the astronomer's ring of brass, as Gemma Frisius had newly framed it." It is

evident that the young student, who was then only in his nineteenth year, had chosen his vocation. He at once began, to quote his own jargon, to make observations "of the heavenly influences and operations actuall in this elementall portion of the world." Many hundreds of these observations were made and chronicled in the next few years.

When Henry VIII. established Trinity College, Dee was chosen one of the first fellows. Up to that time he had been attached to St. John's. He was appointed "Under Reader of the Greeke tongue," Mr. Pember being the chief reader. Dee's genius, however, was mathematical and mechanical. That was made clear to all the University by an amusing incident, which first gained for him the perilous reputation of a master in the occult sciences. Wood tells us that in 1619, on the foundation of the Savilian professorships of geometry and astronomy, not a few of the gentry kept their sons from the University, lest they should be "smuttred with the black art." Most people regarded mathematics as "spells," and its professors as "limbs of the devil." Dee was a victim to the same fears. He was entrusted with the arrangements for a University play, a comedy of Aristophanes. The play—*Elp̄yn*—gave Dee the welcome opportunity to exhibit his mechanical ingenuity. Trygæus, a rustic patriot who bewails the desolation caused by the Peloponnesian war, wishes to ascend to heaven in order to remonstrate with the gods. "Would that I could proceed direct to the mansion of Jupiter!" he is made to repeat. Æsop had described the beetle as the only winged creature that made its way into the presence of the gods. Trygæus seized on this idea. He had previously exhausted all other resources. He had constructed slender ladders, up which he climbed on his way to Olympus, but he fell down and broke his head. Then he put Æsop's fable to the test. He caught an Ætnean dung-beetle, which he groomed with loving care. This strange steed he used to pat like a colt, and address with honeyed words—"O my little Pegasus! my noble winged creature! see that you take me on your back, and fly straight to the mansion of Jupiter!"

After he had fed and trained his charge, Trygæus took

his journey. Such is the gist of the comedy. Dee saw the possibilities of the plot, and was not slow to avail himself of them. The dons of his day and the gaping undergraduates could scarce believe their eyes when they watched his Aristophanic Scarabeus "flying up to Jupiter's palace with a man and a basket of victuals on her back." The scene caused a sensation in Trinity Hall, "whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports spread abroad of the means how that was effected." This exploit of the young tutor was evidently the topic of the hour at Cambridge. Dee added to his reputation as leader of the revels by securing the title of "Emperor" for the first Christmas Magistrate at Trinity College. Thomas Dunne, who was both a capable scholar and, what was more important, "a very goodly man of person, stature, and complexion," first attained this imperial dignity.

In 1548 Dee was made Master of Arts, and went abroad again. His connection with Cambridge was thus severed. He became a student at Louvain. His two years' residence on the Continent made him well known to the European scholars of his day. Noblemen came over from the Court of Charles V. at Brussels to see the learned Englishman, "and to have some proofe of me by their owne judgementes." The Duke of Mantua and the future Duke of Medina Celi are specially mentioned amongst his visitors. Sir William Pickering, who came purposely from Brussels, stayed some time with his young countryman, by whom he was instructed in logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, the use of the astronomer's staff and ring, the astrolabe, and the globes. Visitors from Bohemia and arithmeticians from Denmark swelled the growing company that gathered round the man whose fame was spreading over Europe. The recreations of the young pundit during these busy years consisted of studies in civil law, in which he attained great proficiency.

When Dee reached Paris on July 20, 1550, certain English gentlemen urged him to do something for the honour of his country. He therefore undertook to read, freely and publicly, Euclid's *Elements Geometrical, Mathematicè, Physicè, et Pythagoricè*. Such a thing had not been

done before in any University of Christendom. His audience at Rheims College was so great that the mathematical school would not hold them. Many were compelled to crowd outside the windows, and hear as best they could. His illustrations of the subject were so striking that they caused a greater sensation than even his Scarabeus at Trinity College. The University of Paris was then in its glory, with forty thousand students, drawn from every quarter of Christendom. The learned Englishman's acquaintance was eagerly sought by men of all estates and professions.

More substantial honours were within his grasp. "In this tract of my studious race," he says, "I might have served five Christian emperors." Charles V., Ferdinand, Maximilian, Rudolph, and the Czar of Muscovy vied with each other to secure his services. A special messenger from the Czar brought him a rich present to Trebona Castle, with provision for the journey to Moscow. He was to receive "£2000 sterling yearly stipende; and of his protector yearly a thousand rubbles; with diet also to be allowed free out of the Emperour's owne kitchin; and to be in dignity with authority amongst the highest sort of the nobility there, and of his privy-councillors," &c. Why he did not accept this splendid offer we are not informed. He might well regret his refusal in the poverty and neglect of after years.

On his return to England Dee was recommended to Mr. Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Treasurer of England, with whom he had a personal interview. Edward VI. gave him a yearly pension of one hundred crowns, which was commuted for the rectory of Upton-on-Severn in May 1553. Next year the University of Oxford offered him a good stipend if he would read mathematics there. For some reason this post seems to have been declined.

During Mary's reign Dee's fortunes suffered eclipse. He was imprisoned on a charge of attempting her Majesty's life by enchantments. He had been somewhat active among the partisans of her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and claims to have shown his "dutifull good will in some travailes for her Majestie's behalfe, to the comfort of her Majestie's favourers then, and some of her principall servantes at Woodstock, and at

Milton by Oxford with Sir Thomas Bendger (then Auditor unto her Majestie), and at London." These services and the malicious charge of enchantment brought against him by two informers caused his arrest. In April 1555 Dee was brought as a prisoner to Hampton Court, where Mary and her consort Philip were in residence. On the 29th of the month a more illustrious prisoner followed him—the Princess Elizabeth herself. She was brought under strict guard to the Palace, where she was closely confined near the Water Gate. Philip visited her there. Then came Bishop Gardiner, who tried hard to entrap her into some damaging confession. After a fortnight's suspense, Elizabeth was summoned one night to appear before her sister at ten o'clock. She begged her ladies to pray for her, as she did not know whether she should ever see them again. Mary used every art to make Elizabeth incriminate herself. But the younger sister was already mistress of herself. In that perilous interview she made no false move. To all Mary's attempts to induce her to confess that she had been guilty of some plot against the Queen she replied, "No; rather than do so I will be in prison all the days of my life."

The historian of *Hampton Court under the Tudors* (Mr. Law) seems not to have noticed the connection of the Princess's imprisonment with that of her humble servant, the scholar Dee, who, however, himself notes that he was there lodged as a prisoner "in the weeke next before the same Whitsontide that her Majestie was there prisoner also." Dee was in custody till the following August. All the doors of his London lodging were carefully sealed up. On "Whitsun-even" he was sent down the Thames under guard to London. He appeared before the Common Pleas and the Star Chamber. At last he was acquitted of the charge of treason. The poor astrologer was now sent to the "examining and custody of Bishop Bonner for religious matters." Even this suggestive sentence is capped by the grim quotation from his autobiography, "Where also I was prisoner long, and bed-fellow with Barthlett Grene, who was burnt." Fox, in his *Martyrology*, says that this young lawyer was born in London, and after a careful training at Oxford took chambers in the Temple. Mary's health was known to be precarious;

therefore, when a Continental correspondent asked Green whether it was true that she was dead, he replied, "The Queen is not dead yet." The Council tried to put a treasonable construction on this intercepted letter, but failed. As Green had refused to attend Mass, the Council sent him to Bonner. The young lawyer belonged to a wealthy family. His uncle offered to give him rich livings if he would yield, but Green stood firm. He comforted his sorrowing friends, and went to the stake repeating the lines—

"O Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis :
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego."

"O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Besides Thee have I none :
The truth I love, and falsehood hate,
By Thee, my guide alone."

We have lingered over poor Green's fate to illustrate Dee's peril. His companion was only twenty-five; he had powerful connections, and the circumstances under which he was arrested were much less grave than in Dee's case. Nevertheless, Dee escaped. He was bound over, however, "for ready appearance and good abearing" for four months.

When Elizabeth came to the throne better times seemed to have dawned for the man who had thus shared her perils. Dee was instructed by Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, to discover the most propitious day for the coronation, according to the rules of the ancient astrologers. His judgment was written at large, and delivered to the Queen; but even Dee does not tell us whether his advice was followed. Before her coronation, however, Elizabeth took him "to her service," on the recommendation of Dudley and the Earl of Pembroke. She told his friends, "Where my brother hath given him a crowne, I will give him a noble." She also became the champion of his *Monas Hieroglyphica*, a little volume printed at Antwerp in 1564, and dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian. Some University men and other gentlemen had spoken lightly of it in Dee's absence, but her Majesty took up the cudgels for the philosopher. When he returned from the Continent

she read the book with him at Greenwich ; then "in most heroicall and princely wise did comfort me and encourage me in my studies philosophicall and mathematicall." The curious may see a copy of this rare little pamphlet in the British Museum. It bears the significant motto, "Qui non intelligit, aut taceat, aut discat." The first alternative seems best ; for, seeing that we cannot enjoy the astrologer's explanations, the Latin theorems, with their odd figures, are too much for us.

Still, though Elizabeth flattered Dee, promotion came not. The Mastership of St. Katharine's, the Deanery of Gloucester, the Provostship of Eton, and other honours seemed within his grasp, but passed to those who could "espie and catch better than" he. The rectorial tithes of Long Ledenham, in Lincolnshire, were, however, added to those of Upton. A stone at Ledenham shows that he held that rectory as late as 1565, but as the two sets of tithes together were only worth £80 a year, Dee was not much better off. Many friends, including the Marchioness of Northampton, whom he had attended on the Continent and brought home from Antwerp to Greenwich in 1564, used their influence on his behalf, but no real relief came for more than thirty years. It must be mentioned, to Dee's credit, that when the Queen offered him any ecclesiastical dignity in her kingdom, "being then or shortly becoming vacant," he refused to accept any to which the cure of souls was annexed.

On what terms he stood with Elizabeth, however, is seen from the fact that when he was seriously ill on the Continent in 1571, her Majesty sent over two of her physicians from Hampton Court to attend him. Under their care Dee was soon convalescent. It is amusing to read the next words : "A special messenger, the honourable L. Sidney, was sent to comfort me from her Majestie with divers very pithy speeches and gracious, and also with divers rarities to eat, to encrease my health and strength : the most dutifull and thankfull memory whereof shall never dye."

In 1575 Dee mentions her Majesty's very gracious letters of credit for his marriage. His first wife had died in March of the same year. That very day Elizabeth rode over from Richmond

with her Privy Council and some of her nobles to see Dee's library. When she found that Mrs. Dee had only been buried four hours before, she showed her good-feeling by refusing to go in. She desired Dee, however, to bring his famous magical mirror. The Earl of Leicester lifted her from her horse by Mortlake Church wall, where she saw the qualities of the glass to her great delight.

Dee's private diary now comes to our aid. It was discovered fifty years ago in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, written in a very small illegible hand on the margins of old almanacs. As printed by the Camden Society it is prefaced by two pages of nativities which Dee prepared for his clients.

Queen Elizabeth often figures in his pages. Dee was employed to investigate her title to the new countries which her adventurous sailors were then opening up in all parts of the world. In November 1577 he rides to Windsor, where he has audience with her Majesty and Walsingham. He declared to the Queen her title to Greenland, "Estetiland," and Friseland. In 1580 he is again busy on a similar subject. He prepared two rolls, which are preserved in the Cottonian Library. These he delivered to Elizabeth at Richmond. Next day the Lord Treasurer somewhat slighted him; but three days later her Majesty rode over to Mortlake and told Dee how warmly the Treasurer approved his work which he had just examined. Dee's description of a royal visit on September 17, 1580, shows on what terms the astrologer stood with his sovereign.

"The Queen's Majestie cam from Rychemond in her coach the higher way of Mortlak felde, and when she cam right against the church, she turned down towards my house, and when she was against my garden, in the felde, she stode there a good while, and than cam ynto the street at the great gate of the felde, where she espyed me at my doore making obeysains to her Majestie. She beckened her hand for me. I cam to her coach side. She very speedily pulled off her glove and gave me her hand to kiss, and to be short, asked me to resort to her court, and to give her to wete (know) when I cam there."

Dee's services were once called for in a grave crisis. He himself must be allowed to describe an incident which speaks volumes as to the superstition of the times.

"My carefull and faithfull endeavours was with great speede required (as

by divers messages sent unto me one after another in one morning) to prevent the mischiefe, which divers of her Majestie's Privy Councell suspected to be intended against her Majestie's person, by means of a certaine image of wax, with a great pin stuck into it about the breast of it, found in Lincolne's Inn fields, &c., wherein I did satisfie her Majestie's desire, and the Lords of the honourable Privy Councell within few hours, in godly and artificiall manner; as the honourable Mr. Secy. Willson, whome, at the least, I required to have by me, a witnes of the proceedings; which his Honor before me declared to her Majestie, then sitting without the Privy Garden by the landing place at Richmond; the honorable Earle of Leicester being also by."

In October 1578 we find Dee employed again. Her Majesty was suffering grievous "paines by reason of the tooth-ake and the rheume." The Mortlake astrologer was sent over to the Continent "to consult learned physicians and philosophers" beyond the seas. He was allowed one hundred days' leave of absence. We pity the Queen if she had to suffer till his return. Dee tells us that he travelled fifteen hundred miles by sea and land on this errand. Lilly will have it that the astrologer was Queen's intelligencer or spy. According to his explanation the journey was really intended to keep Elizabeth and her Ministers informed as to the windings of European diplomacy. From Lilly's statement, one student of Dee's life has been led to conjecture that his notes of pretended conversations with spirits were really political intelligence written in cypher. Unfortunately for this explanation, similar entries were made before he went abroad. The astrologer seems also to have been Elizabeth's confidant as to the proposed French marriage. In February 1583, when riding from Richmond to Walsingham's mansion at Barn Elms, a mile beyond Dee's house, Elizabeth called him to her when she passed his door, and he walked for some distance by her side. He adds: "Her Majesty asked me obscurely of monsieur's state. I said . . ." (The entry is written in Greek letters, to which expedient the diarist often resorts for secrecy. "Ἐρ μαεστρι αξεδ με οβοσκυρελι οφ μουνσιευρις στατε: διξι βιοθανατος εριτ.") The editor of the diary (as printed by the Cheetham Society) expresses his inability to decipher the " $\theta\epsilon\mu$," which is of frequent occurrence, as in the entry *Iave $\alpha\delta$ $\theta\epsilon\mu$.* It is simply "them." "Jane (his wife) had them."

In December 1590 we catch a trace of the pleasant humour of the Queen. She had promised to send Dee a hundred angels in his distress. The astrologer met her at East Sheen Gate, where she, graciously putting down her mask, did say with merry cheer, "I thank thee, Dee; there was never promise made but it was broken or kept." Four years later he delivers "the heavenly admonition," which her Majesty received thankfully. This was a warning against some Spanish plot.

Some selections from the diary will show how amusing and entertaining the brief record is. On May 20, 1577, he hires the barber of Chiswick to keep his "hedges and knots in as good order as he sed them then." They were to be cut at least twice in the year, for which Walter Hooper was to receive five shillings a year, with his food when he came across the river. Dee mentions in the November of that year there were two tides in the morning, the first of which came two or three hours before time. The same tidal phenomenon was observed in the Thames on February 9, 1889. After ebbing for an hour and a half and falling 24 inches, the tide turned and flowed again for an hour and a half (*Standard*, Feb. 12, 1889). In October 1579, after three or four days' incessant rain, he notes that the ferry-boat at Kew was driven against the rope set there to keep it from being swept away by the flood. The boat, he says, "was drowned and six persons." In 1590, May 21, he acts as Censor Morum. "I showed my indignation against Bacchus feast at Braynferd intended; gave the Bishop of London warning, who took it in very good part."

Dreams and visions form the subject of some racy entries. His own dream in 1579 is grotesque indeed. He saw his skin "all over wroght with work like some tuft mockado, with crosses blew and red." On his left arm was the inscription in a wreath, "Sine me nihil potestis facere." Harry Price, of Lewisham, consults him about his dreams. That night, "uppon my prayer to God, his dreame was confirmed and better instruction given." Dee's wife had her dreams also. But his two maid-servants interest us most. "A fire all in flame" came into their room about midnight, and con-

tinued blazing terribly for half an hour. The same thing had happened a year before to the same servants. Barnabas Saul is troubled by a spirit as he sleeps in the hall. Dee himself hears a strange knocking at night, with a voice, ten times repeated, like the shriek of an owl, but more prolonged and softer. The knocking and rapping were heard again on other nights. This reminds us somewhat of "Jeffery" at the Epworth parsonage in John Wesley's boyhood. A wicked spirit long tempted Ann Frank, his nurse. Dee anointed her with holy oil. "I did very devoutly prepare myself, and pray for vertue, and power, and Christ his blessing of the oyle to the expulsion of the wicked." He twice anointed her, and tells us that the wicked one did resist awhile. Unfortunately it was labour lost. A few days later she tried to drown herself. Dee came in time to save her, but three weeks afterwards the poor woman cut her throat.

One of the interesting features of the diary is the introduction which it gives us to Dee's visitors. The very first entry is as follows:—"The Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, Mr. Dyer, and others, came to my house." This was on January 16, 1577. Sidney was then in his twenty-third year. With Leicester, Dee was on intimate terms for many years. The earl consulted him, as we have seen, about a favourable day for Elizabeth's coronation; he also gave Dee instructions for his journey to the Continent on behalf of her Majesty. The astrologer became acquainted with Laski, a Polish nobleman with whom in 1583 he went to the Continent, in Leicester's chamber at Greenwich. Sir Philip Sidney was bound by a threefold cord to Dee. Besides being Leicester's nephew, he was son-in-law to Walsingham, one of Dee's warmest patrons and his near neighbour. Sidney's father and mother were both correspondents of Dr. Dee, who expressly mentions Sir Henry Sidney's letters, sent when he was Lord Deputy in Ireland and Lord President in Wales, and gratefully refers to Lady Sidney's "most courteous and many letters unto me inviting me to Court." The greatest people of the times buzz around him, or entertain him at their houses. The Lord Chancellor's son visits him, he dines with the Lord Keeper at Kew, sups with the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, gives Earl Derby and his friends "a skolar's collation," which was "taken in good part," when they came suddenly to call upon him at Manchester in 1596.

Most of the great travellers of Elizabeth's reign were familiar with Dee's home at Mortlake. Here is a cutting for Mr. Layard. "Alexander Simon, the Ninivite, came to me and promised me his service into Persia." One after another, the famous sailors who laid the foundation of England's maritime empire cross the threshold. In 1577 Sir Humphrey Gilbert visits him. Next year one of Gilbert's companions manages to call, on his way to join the expedition at Dartmouth. Gilbert granted Dee the royalty of all discoveries north of the fiftieth degree of latitude. When the bargain was struck, he tells us that Gilbert "toke me by the hand with faithfull promises in his lodging of John Cooke's house in Witchcross Strete, where wee dined only us three together, being Satterday." The third was Stoner, Sir Humphrey's retainer. This was on September 10, 1580. Three years later Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland, but was lost in a storm on his homeward voyage. His half-brother, Raleigh, secured Gilbert's "patent" for himself. Dee reaped no fruit from his bargain, which, if it had been made good, would have given him the royalty of what were afterwards the Hudson's Bay Territory, British Columbia, and Alaska. The discovery of these regions was not to be achieved by Gilbert.

We also find Dee talking to Hakluyt about those mythical conquests of King Arthur and King Matys, which have found a niche in Hakluyt's *Voyages*. In 1581 Hugh Smith, who had returned from the Magellan Straits, visits Mortlake. Soon afterwards, on June 17, 1581, comes "yong Mr. Hawkins," who had sailed with Sir Francis Drake round the world (December 13, 1577, to November 3, 1580). The pulses of Englishmen were beating fast in those days, when Drake's three years of adventure were in every mouth. The whole narrative may well have been told to Dee at Mortlake that summer day. How intimately Dee was mixed up with nautical adventure may be seen from the fact that Mr. Adrian Gilbert, Mr. Beale and he had a secret conference with Mr. Secretary Walsingham in order to disclose to that statesman

the North-west passage. "All charts and rutters were agreed upon in general." The theorist professed to have discovered the passage for which all navigators of the time were seeking. Raleigh also writes to tell Dee of the Queen's gracious inclination towards him, and entertains him to dinner at Durham House. "The most famous Mr. Thomas Ca[ve]ndish, who had sailed round about the world" (in 1586-8), also visits him. Cavendish, one of the most enterprising, diligent, and cautious of our early sailors, was the third circumnavigator of the globe.

These extracts from the diary of Dee will show that he was the trusted friend and counsellor of the Elizabethan adventurers. His *General and Rare Memorials pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation*, a folio published in 1577, had made him an authority on nautical matters. Only one hundred copies were published, so that it is now one of the rarest of books. The astrologer argues for "the perpetual guard and service of a Petty Navy Royal, continually to be maintained without the Queen's charges or any unpleasant burdens to the Commons." In reading this suggestion of the patriotic master of sciences, we cannot but be reminded that he wrote in the age of the Invincible Armada. His patriotism is also shown by the fact that he refused a considerable sum offered him by a foreign power that wanted to secure a copy. His wise suggestions for the preservation and growth of our fisheries would have endeared the Mortlake astrologer to the late Frank Buckland.

We must now turn to the position which Dee held in the occult sciences. Astrology was in high favour in the sixteenth century. Both Charles V. and Francis I. turned for help in their wars to the magicians of the day. The influence of the Court had made astrology popular in France. William Lully and Robert Fludd both enjoyed a brief authority in England. Some think that Fludd invented the barometer. He professed to have made a still more interesting discovery in the shape of some rules for the detection of a thief, of the efficiency of which he had had personal experience. If the lord of the sixth house was found in the second house, or in company with the lord of the second house, the thief was one of the family. If Mercury were in the sign of the Scorpion the culprit would be bald. Kepler's master, Tycho Brahe, is credited with one

of the lucky hits of astrology. The great comet of 1577 led him to predict the event of a northern prince who should lay waste Germany and disappear in 1632. The invader was Gustavus Adolphus. Even Kepler, in his youth, made almanacs which, of course, were astrological. He did not go far in the doubtful art, but he once had the good luck to predict the coming of a severe winter. Cornelius Agrippa was the most famous representative of the occult art, and is alluded to by our master of romantic poetry in Fitztraver's beautiful song in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

“ 'Twas All-Souls' eve, and Surrey's heart beat high;
He heard the midnight bell with anxious start,
Which told the mystic hour, approaching nigh,
When wise Cornelius promised, by his art,
To show to him the ladye of his heart,
Albeit betwixt them roared the ocean grim;
Yet so the sage had hight to play his part,
That he should see her form in life and limb
And mark, if still she loved, and still she thought of him.”

Agrippa early won his reputation as an astrologer, but, like Dee, he found it sorely prejudice his chances of success in life. In 1509, at the age of twenty-three, he wrote his panegyric on women, which is crowded with delicious absurdities. The superiority of woman over man is demonstrated by the statement that if a man and a woman fall into water together, the man soon sinks, while the woman floats for a long time. Man is liable to baldness, a woman is never seen with a bald head. It is the divine light shining through the body of the woman which often makes her appear a miracle of beauty. It is not hard to find a twofold explanation of this strange rhapsody. The encomium on women was dedicated to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy; last, not least, it was written in the year of Agrippa's courtship.

His famous books on magic belong to the same year. Agrippa teaches that there is a fifth element or quintessence, which is the spirit of the world. This bears the same relation to inanimate things as the spirit does to man. If this quintessence of gold and silver can be set free, it would transmute other metals into which it should be rightly projected to

gold and silver. The author had himself performed this delicate operation. But, as his biographer, Mr. Henry Morley, shows, he had never been able, despite his incantations and his elaborate chemical processes, to make more than an ounce of gold out of an ounce.

The astrologer appears in many curious entries of Dee's diary. We have already referred to the nativities, and to Queen Elizabeth's interest in his magical mirror. Dee's eldest son, Arthur, who was trained under Camden at Westminster School, and went to Oxford, became, on James I.'s recommendation, physician to the Czar of Russia for fourteen years. On his return to England he was appointed physician to Charles I. He also practised in London, where the College of Physicians prosecuted him for setting up a board over his door with a list of medicines. As a boy he was employed by his father as a "skryer," or inspector of this magical glass, when he was only eight years old. He wasted his property in seeking the Elixir of Life, and died in poverty at Norwich in 1651. His tract on *Alchemy, or the Hermetic Science* was published at Paris in 1631.

Dee had no little trouble with one of his assistants, Roger Cook, who entered his service at the age of fourteen, and remained with him till he was twenty-eight. Dee had treated him kindly, and revealed to him "the great secret of the Elixir of the Salt"—that is, "the salt of metals, the projection whereof was one upon an hundred." But Roger was not satisfied. Two years later an amusing entry in Greek characters speaks of "Roger's incredible doggedness and ingratitude against me towards my face. Almost ready to lay violent hands upon me." His master considered Roger to be of a melancholy disposition. He tried hard to keep him, promising "one hundred pounds as sone as of my own clene hability I myght spare so much; and moreover, if he used himself well in life toward God and the world, I promised him some pretty alchimicall experiments, whereupon he might honestly live." Roger probably knew his master's circumstances too well to wait for the hundred pounds, and one may hope that he was disgusted with the jugglery of these "alchimicall experiments." Two days after these gilded baits had been offered he left Mortlake.

Before the month was out, Robert Gardner, of Shrewsbury, was installed in his place. The tables were now turned. This man was evidently able to teach his master. We read that he revealed to his rejoicing master "the nature of the [philosopher's] stone, divinely revealed to him." Unfortunately, the secret is not in the diary. Three days later he declared to Dee a great philosophical secret, "of a spirituall creatuer, and was this day willed to come to me and declare it, which was solemnly done, and with common prayer." From this time Dee gave himself up almost entirely to the occult sciences. He had formed an acquaintance with Edward Kelly, who had been an apothecary in Worcester. This man professed to have discovered the philosopher's stone. They performed incantations, and held frequent intercourse with spirits. A John Evans is mentioned, in the Ashmole MSS., who knew Kelly's sister in Worcester, and was shown some of the gold which her brother had transmuted. Kelly's influence on Dee was baneful. They went together to the Continent in 1583, with Count Albert Laski, the Polish nobleman already referred to, who was Palatine of Siradia, and who dabbled in the black art. He introduced them to Rudolph II., the German Emperor, and to Stephen Battori, King of Poland. Both these princes regarded the Englishmen as charlatans. The visitors were reduced to great distress, but in their extremity a Bohemian noble received them into his castle. Dee and Kelly afterwards quarrelled. The astrologer came back to Mortlake in December 1589.

On his return Dee suffered many hardships. His books and instruments had been partially destroyed by the mob; his journey home from Bohemia had cost him a large sum. He was attended by a guard of cavalry, had three new coaches, with harness for twelve horses, and luggage waggons. He had left his household property in the care of a relative, who grossly abused the trust. To add to his necessities, Dee had eleven children by his second wife, Jane Fromond, whom he married on February 5, 1578. He was compelled to pawn his plate and his wife's jewels, to borrow money from all his friends, and to run into debt with any tradesman that would trust him. He received £500 from friends, and sold

many of his valuables, yet he was still £300 in debt. "With great parsimony used," he tells us, he "preserved himself and his family from hunger, starving, and nakedness." His whole life, in fact, was a prolonged struggle with circumstances. Thomas Digges, the eminent mathematician, had lent him money before he went abroad. Yet so hard up was the philosopher, that when the Earl of Leicester and Count Laski proposed to dine with him two days later, he was compelled to tell them that he could not prepare a convenient dinner unless he should sell some of his plate or pewter. The earl reported this to his royal mistress, who at once sent him forty gold angels from Syon House, Isleworth, two miles up the river. We find that she also gave him fifty pounds for Christmas cheer in 1590. These gifts, however, were soon swallowed up. No adequate provision was made for his necessities. At last Dee's heart fainted. In 1594, after another failure to secure relief, he writes:—"I take myself confounded for all suing or hoping for anything that was. And so adieu to the Court and courting till God direct me otherwise. The Archbishop [of Canterbury, who had conducted the negotiations] gave me a payre of sufferings to drinke. God be my help as He is my refuge. Amen." Two months later, however, he begs that his case may be heard by the Council. Next year the tardy relief came in an appointment as Warden of Manchester College.

Before we follow him to Manchester, let us look into Dee's library at Mortlake. Though patronized by the great, the astrologer suffered much from the ill-will of his poorer neighbours in and around the village, where he settled somewhere about 1571. In 1577, when he spent three days at Windsor, Queen Elizabeth promised to protect him against any who might seek his overthrow, because of his "rare studies and philosophical exercises." In December 1590, when he returned from the Continent, he received the royal warrant to do what he would in philosophy or alchemy. None were to check, control, or molest him. Despite her Majesty's assurances, Dee's house was pillaged by the mob in 1576. They gathered from the surrounding districts in great numbers, and destroyed many of his treasures. Besides books worth £400, and

chemical apparatus valued at £200, some valuable instruments were destroyed. A great quadrant which had cost £20, a magnet worth £33, two Mercator's globes, sea-compasses, and a much-prized water-clock which marked the seconds, perished in this riot.

Dee was a bookworm, who gathered many treasures at home and abroad. He showed some MS. volumes to Queen Elizabeth's commissioners which had cost £533. His whole library was valued at about £2000. It contained about 3300 printed volumes and 700 MSS., some of which were very rare. The catalogues which have been preserved give a good idea of his treasures. Holinshed's *Great Chronicle*, the works of Duns Scotus, of Thomas Aquinas, and St. Augustine are there. Roger Bacon's works are largely represented. Mathematical books are mixed up with MSS. which bear the significant titles—*Cheiromantia*, *Secreta Philosophorum*, *De Judiciis Astrorum*, *De Lapide Philosophorum*.

His enlightened views on many points are represented by the eagerness with which he urges Queen Mary to take steps for the formation of a "Library Royal" in 1556. The dissolution of the monasteries had led to the dispersion of many notable collections, "wherein lay the treasure of all antiquity, and the everlasting seeds of continual excellency within this your Grace's realm." Dee wished the Queen to borrow the chief treasures of the Vatican and other libraries, in order to take copies of them. "All other excellent authors printed" were to be "gotten in wonderful abundance." His views would do credit to a nineteenth-century bibliophile.

"Whereby your Highness shall have a most notable library, learning wonderfully advanced, the passing excellent works of our forefathers from rot and worms be preserved, and also hereafter continually the whole realm may (through your Grace's goodness) use and enjoy the whole incomparable treasure so preserved."

Dee went to Manchester in 1596. He often quarrelled with the collegians during his seven years' residence there, but these may be regarded as the palmy days of his troubled life. In 1604 he returned to his home at Mortlake. For a short time he enjoyed the favour of James I., but we soon find him petitioning King and Parliament for relief. His poetical address

to the Commons, which is still preserved, shows that he was no poet, whatever may have been his merits as an astrologer. His last days were spent in poverty. He was compelled to sell great part of his library to get bread. He was preparing for another visit to Germany, but his death, at the age of eighty-one, prevented that journey. No record of burials between 1603-1613 has been preserved, but it is said that he was buried in the chancel of Mortlake Church. When Aubrey visited the place, seventy or eighty years later, an old flat marble stone, without inscription, was pointed out to him as "Dr. Dee's stone." All trace of him has long since vanished from the church where he worshipped for so many years.

There is a memorial preserved at the British Museum said to be Dee's magic mirror, which he used to assert was given him by an angel. It is a small round ball of rock crystal, into which Dee used to call his spirits. Meric Casaubon, the son of the great scholar, Isaac Casaubon, astonished the town in 1659 by publishing a large folio called *A True and Faithful Relation of what passed many years between Dr. John Dee and some Spirits*. He gained his materials from Dee's own notes, now in the Cottonian Library. The Puritan authorities wished to suppress the book, but while they consulted together the public bought up the edition. Kelly used to peer into the mirror, and describe his pretended visions. Dee sat by, writing down the revelations. The curious may, however, consult Casaubon's volume.

On March 24, 1771, Horace Walpole wrote to his friend Sir Horace Mann about a strange incident which had befallen him. On the previous Monday a courier was despatched to Strawberry Hill by a friend to tell Walpole that his house in Arlington Street had been broken into and all his cabinets and trunks forced open and pillaged. He had left £270 in bank bills, £300 in money, besides his collection of gold and silver coins, miniatures, and other treasures. Two maid-servants were alone in the house. Walpole set out from Strawberry Hill with many apprehensions. He found that the locks had been forced, and the doors of his cabinets broken to pieces, but his series of coins—guineas, half-guineas, &c.—had been left untouched. His papers were scattered about the floor, but

nothing was taken. All London wondered. Walpole insisted that he had a talisman. It was Dee's black stone. When asked by Lord Vere to prepare Lady Betsy Germaine's things for auction he had found an item in the catalogue, "The Black Stone, into which Dr. Dee used to call his spirits." Lord Vere knew nothing of this curiosity. Next winter Walpole had to render the same service upon the Duke of Argyle's collection for Lord Frederic Campbell. A round piece of shining black marble in a leathern case, as big as the crown of a hat, was produced. Lord Campbell asked what it could possibly be. Walpole screamed out, "Oh Lord ! I am the only man in England that can tell you ; it is Dr. Dee's black stone!" Lady Betty had given it away or sold it. The auction mark was still upon it. By this means it came into the duke's hands. It was now given to Walpole. "And if," he says, "it was not this magical stone, which is only of high polished coal, that preserved my chattels, in truth I cannot guess what did." This magic mirror was sold at Strawberry Hill for £12 12s. in 1842.

The note to *Walpole's Letters* (Cunningham's Edition, v. 290) says that it is now in the British Museum. The ball shown at the Museum, however, does not correspond with the description given by Walpole. It is a polished crystal ball of smoky quartz, and is the holy stone which Dee said was given him by an angel.

Aubrey the antiquarian gives us the best account of Dee's appearance :—" He had a very fair, clear, sanguine complexion, a long beard as white as milk. A very handsome man. He was a great peacemaker ; if any of the neighbours fell out, he would never let them alone till he made them friends. He was tall and slender. He wore a gown like an artist's gown, with hanging sleeves and a slit. A mighty good man he was."

We cannot take our leave of the Mortlake astrologer without regret that a man of such gifts as a mathematician and natural philosopher should have stooped to the questionable practices we have described. He has many claims on the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. He was a man of great learning and rare gifts, as his treatise on the Reformation of the Calendar, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, still bears witness. He was evidently on the verge

of discovering of the telescope, but the children of Jansen, the Middleburg spectacle-maker, carried off in their play the honour which Friar Bacon, Digges the mathematician, and Dee had almost grasped. Dee's proposal for a national library in Queen Mary's reign is an anticipation of the British Museum; his plea for a navy is proof of his sagacity in the field of practical statesmanship. Had he found another Mæcenas the world might have had another Horace is his plaintive reflection on his own life of disappointment. His royal mistress, who kept Sir Philip Sidney dangling unemployed about her Court, must bear some of the responsibility for the waste of Dee's powers. Such a man, judiciously patronized, might have done much for the advancement of science in the sixteenth century.

ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY.

The Ministry of the Christian Church. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1889.

THIS book is the reply of the High Church party to Dr. Lightfoot's treatise on "The Christian Ministry," in his commentary on *Philippians*, and to Dr. Hatch's Bampton Lecture on *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*. It is also a counterblast to various essays on the subject from Drs. Harnack, Sanday, and others, which have appeared in the *Expositor*. The time had certainly come for the advocates of "Apostolical Succession" to amend their battered and broken defences. Dr. Lightfoot's invincible argument had finally excluded "modern episcopacy" from the lines of the New Testament Churches. The archaeological investigations of Hatch, Harnack, Sanday, and other scholars had undermined the traditional conception of the primitive "President" of Christian congregations, and had completely invested the once all-powerful position of the

“threefold” ministry. The hopelessness of demonstrating the apostolic origin of “diocesan episcopacy” was revealed even in Dr. Lightfoot’s *Ignatius*, while the *Didache* had thrown an electric light into the obscurities of primeval Christianity. But the Anglicans continued to repeat, without stammer or blush, their loftiest assumptions. Canon Liddon had said that “without the bishop the Church could not exist at all, much less exist efficiently.” In town and village the members of “guilds” were warned that to attend a dissenting chapel was “sin.” Everywhere it was proclaimed that the Church was “a visible body,” and, in fit sequence, that the only “visible body” was the Episcopalian Church.

It was inevitable that some one who believed in this specific doctrine of the Church should give to the world a modernized but systematic statement of the evidence by which it could be sustained. No one, therefore, can say that Mr. Gore’s book was unnecessary. Neither can there be any doubt of Mr. Gore’s qualifications for the representation of the views of his party. Formerly the Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, and now the “Head of Pusey House, Oxford,” it is clear that he has the confidence of the straitest Anglican sect. His place as “examining chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln” guarantees his reputation for high sacerdotal views as well as for learning. Theological literature also bears witness to his boldness as a controversialist, so that it may be expected that most of what can be said in the cause of “Apostolical Succession” will be presented here in its most definite and impressive form.

The *Guardian* (December 12, 1888) assures us that this exhibition of the arguments relating to this subject will be acceptable to an extensive majority in the English Church. The “examining chaplain” will, not unlikely, require his theory to be understood and received by candidates for ordination. An important diocese will, for the next generation at least, be under the dominant influence of the doctrines of this book. It will be a text-book for candidates for “Orders” in many dioceses. Its details will be dealt out to teachers in diocesan training-colleges, and to

Sunday-schools and guilds. Every curate who desires to confound the parochial Dissenters will use it. On the other hand, they who had hoped for the extension of Evangelical catholicity in the Established Church may learn how far their hopes are from being fulfilled.

It may be convenient, first, to give a general view of Mr. Gore's theory; then to consider the arguments upon which he places the greatest emphasis; and, finally, to state any conclusions to which we have come in the examination.

I. Our author's first assumptions are that the documents of the New Testament are genuine, and that the doctrine of the Incarnation is Apostolic. So far we can freely grant all that he asks. The defence of these truths does not depend upon High Churchmen. Mr. Gore and others of his class seem to suggest that there is some subtle but necessary connection between faith in the Incarnation and Sacramental theories, just as Cardinal Manning would have us to believe there is nothing between Romanism and Atheism. But the higher faith in the Incarnation held by Evangelical Christians prevents them from believing that there is "an extension of the Incarnation"/* in the Sacraments.

Assuming, then, the authority of the New Testament, Mr. Gore proceeds to the inquiry, "Did Christ found a Church in the sense of a visible society?" (p. 9). "This, of course, everybody would admit" (p. 10). We know no one who denies that Christ founded a visible society. But a further question is—

"whether believers were left to organize themselves in societies by the natural attraction of sympathy in beliefs and aims, and are therefore still at liberty to organize themselves on any model which seems from time to

* This expression was introduced into modern Anglican use by Wilberforce on the *Incarnation* (p. 275), who only refers to Jeremy Taylor as its author. The latter, in his *Worthy Communicant* (i. 2), says: "Consonant to which doctrine the Fathers, by an elegant expression, called the Blessed Sacrament [not "Sacraments"] 'the Extension of the Incarnation.'" Taylor does not tell us what "Fathers" employ the phrase. In the same place he says, however, "these things are not consequent to the reception of the natural body of Christ, which is now in Heaven, but of His Word and of His Spirit, which are therefore indeed His body and His blood, because we feed on Him to life eternal." Taylor evidently used the phrase in a figurative sense: none but Romish theologians ought to use it in any other.

time to promise the best results, or whether the Divine Founder of the Christian religion Himself instituted a society or brotherhood, to be the home of grace and truth; so that becoming His disciple meant from the first this—in a real sense this only—incorporation into His society. . . . Christ did not, according to this view, encourage His disciples to form societies: He instituted a society for them to belong to" (p. 10).*

If this were all, there are few Evangelical Christians who would not accept Mr. Gore's side of the alternative. They believe that the Church is a "visible society," and that Christians were not entirely left to "organize a society for themselves." Many of them believe in a "society or brotherhood" which Christ instituted to be "the home of grace and truth." But they do not believe that the Church is wholly visible any more than Mr. Gore believes that it is wholly invisible.† Further, they cannot predicate of "societies" spread over the world, and through the ages, under ever varying conditions, the "visible" unity and conformity which belonged, through a singular Providence, to the Pentecostal Church at Jerusalem. Of all the theories which have been fabricated from the story of "the upper room" this would be the wildest. That "visible" society was "the Church" for a few brief years. It had a unity never to be imitated. "Incorporation into His society" meant, at the very first, not only faith in Jesus, but the use of Jewish ordinances. Since "visible" unity in that form came to an end, it has not been universally established in any other. Where has been the one, visible, divinely organized society since

* Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea are called "disciples," but "secretly, for fear of the Jews," before "incorporation into the visible society." It rather seems that discipleship went before incorporation.

† In this book Mr. Gore evidently addresses Dissenters; in his *Roman Catholic Claims* he has to use different arguments. In order to reply to the Romish pretensions he has to urge that the Church is not merely "a visible society:" the breeze is blowing in a different direction and the sail must be trimmed accordingly. There (p. 27) he says, "The unity does not consist in outward fellowship, though it ought to result in it. . . . If the unity of the Church were primarily a unity of outward government it could not grow. . . . We maintain then that, primarily, the unity of the Church is in Scripture a unity of inward life, an invisible fact; it is in this that her essential unity primarily consists." But, further, "This inward life depends on outward means. . . . It is only through the visible organization that God has given us this invisible life." We could not pretend to show the way through this muddle of contradictions in any reasonable limits of space or time.

the conversion of Cornelius and Paul? Was it the Church of Jerusalem under St. James, or the composite Churches planted by Paul and Apollos? Was it the "Catholic Church" of Tertullian and Chrysostom; or the Romish Church of Gregory and Leo the Tenth? Is it the Anglican Church of Augustine to Warham, or that from Cranmer to Benson? Is it the Greek Church of Theophylact and Bryennius, or the Presbyterian Churches of Knox and Chalmers, or the Methodist Churches of Wesley and Asbury and Bunting, or the Nonconformists from John Bunyan to C. H. Spurgeon? Yet none of these would deny that the Church of Christ is, in some sense, "a visible society."

But Mr. Gore explains:—

"There is a great continuous body—the Catholic Church. There it is—none can overlook its visible existence, let us say from the time when Christianity emerges out of the gloom of the sub-apostolic age down to the period of the Reformation. And all down this period of its continuous life, this society makes a constant and unmistakable claim. It claims to have been instituted as the home of the new covenant of salvation by the Incarnate Son of God. Is the claim which the Catholic Church has made a just one?"

This question he answers in the affirmative. He shrinks from no conclusions, as we shall see, which bear upon the exclusion of the greater part of the Protestant Churches from the "covenant" of Christ. But he does not tell us how the Reformers were justified in forsaking the "visible society" which made the unbroken claim "down to the period of the Reformation." On this point he is ominously silent.* But we believe that he and his friends will yet find that this is one of the most serious questions which they have to consider.

Having considered the probability that Christ would found a visible Church, which no one questions, Mr. Gore proceeds to show that early Christians, like Tertullian, speak of the Church as "descended from the apostles," and as "the institution for man's education and salvation." In fact, he says, "African Christians believed that communion with God depended on communion with His Church." Irenæus, of Lyons, said, "Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God." A

* See, however, Mr. Gore's more recent work on *Roman Catholic Claims*.

very little critical suggestion at this point would be very useful. But the author himself finds embarrassment in the fact that Justin and Irenæus allow that salvation was possible "to all who lived according to the Logos." But how could they be saved without "communion with God," which "depended on the Church?" Well, Mr. Gore says, Justin and Irenæus felt the difficulty, but they did not "connive at the doctrine of an invisible Church:" they thought these good people might come to Paradise some other way! Some other way than by communion with God?

But, Mr. Gore reminds us, the "Fathers"—Hermas, Clement, Origen, and others—all emphasize the unity. The original tendency in Christianity to be social was not the product of "an age given to associations," as Dr. Hatch and others have suggested. Mr. Gore is quite certain that the Christian Church could not owe its constitution to the guilds, clubs, confederations, and burial societies which abounded in the Græco-Roman world. What was then the constitution which Christ gave to the Church?

Mr. Gore's observations on this subject are full of interest, and especially because he is compelled, by loyalty to the truth, to fall into a contradiction. He says (p. 38) that the Saviour did not attempt to form the multitude into a Church: He gathered a few chosen ones. A new fellowship of men had to be instituted. "Man must have a fresh start: he must be built upon a new foundation: he must be regenerated, converted, if he is to be fit for sonship, for brotherhood. . . . To do this, he withdraws from the many upon the few." A confession like that of Simon was a "rock of human character," upon which he could build the Church; it could not rest on the unstable mind of the masses. Therefore, our Lord "did not cast His gospel loose upon the world . . . He directed all His efforts to make a home for it."

No doubt there is important truth here. But our Lord spoke to the multitude, though He "called" disciples. The parable of the sower says that the seed was flung over the whole field, as well as that only part of it was productive. Before Mr. Gore's movement on the flank of those who hold spiritual views of the Church can be successful, he must show

that he intends to abide by his definitions. If he contends that the "twelve" were the Church; or the "hundred-and-twenty" at Pentecost; or only regenerate persons at any time; we can understand him. But if he would next assume that any "visible society," Romish or Anglican, stands precisely in this position, because its members have been baptized and confirmed, we do not understand him. The "visible society" must be either the "elect," or the whole company of those "who profess and call themselves Christians." It cannot be both.

Mr. Gore does not seem to have a large acquaintance with the writings of Nonconformists. We infer from the prominence frequently given to "the intention of Christ to found a social organization" that he has not overlooked Dr. Rigg's book on *Church Organization*. Nowhere is the principle of fellowship as an essential element of living Christianity more powerfully exhibited than in Dr. Rigg's book. Mr. Gore observes that this characteristic of the Christian religion is demonstrated in the Sacraments themselves. But are these the "fellowship," or the symbols of it? What need is there of careful analysis of terms—literal and metaphorical, of phrases—ancient and modern, at this point! We wish that our author had pursued a little further his notion that the "visible" Church is a "society," and that he had traced more carefully the history of the Pentecostal Church into after times.

But Mr. Gore insists that—

"Jesus Christ founded a visible society or Church, to be the organ of His Spirit in the world, the depositary of His truth, the covenanted sphere of His redemptive grace and discipline. Now such a society, as by its very nature is to be universal and continuous, must have links of connection; and in the uninterrupted history of the Church, as it is spread out before us from the latter part of the second century, one such link has always existed in the apostolic succession of the ministry."

True: but what is meant by "apostolic succession?" Every Christian community on earth believes that it is in this succession. "The Church of Christ is, by the admission of all parties, apostolical, or derived in some manner from the apostles."* But Mr. Gore will explain:—

"A ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, of apostolic descent and divine

* Palmer's *Book of the Church*, i. p. 172.

authorization, is the centre of unity in each local Christian society, and is charged with the administration of that worship and discipline, and with the guardianship of that doctrine, which belong to the whole Church. The chief authority lay with the bishop, and accordingly episcopal ordination was regarded—without a single exception which can be alleged on reasonable grounds—as essential to constitute a man a member of the clergy, and give him ministerial commission. Further, the early records of the apostolic age present us with a picture of the Church governed by an apostolate invested with a supernatural authority. As the Church grows, a local ministry of presbyter-bishops and deacons is developed in the different Churches. At the period represented by the Pastoral Epistles, the Church ministry consisted of presbyter-bishops and deacons, controlled by apostles and apostolic men. What are the links of connection between the apostolic ministry as presented to us in the Pastoral Epistles and the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, as it appears in Church history?" (pp. 339-341).

To this question, which Mr. Gore is compelled to put, he cannot reply, except as follows:—"There is considerable room for uncertainty as to the exact steps by which in this place or that the apostolic ministry passed into the ordinary ministry of the Church." He allows, also, that "the evidence of the epistle of Polycarp and Jerome's statements about the Church of Alexandria" prove that, in some cases at least, "apostolic authority" passed to the "local colleges of equal presbyter-bishops." We may add that the evidence of the first epistle of Clement, of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and of all the post-apostolic literature except the epistles of Ignatius, looks in the same direction. That is, *in every known instance* the Church-government of the Pastoral Epistles and of the apostolic age was continued into the second century.

What remains, then, but to allow that "episcopacy" was neither apostolic nor sub-apostolic? But this would spoil everything. The "threefold ministry" of the "Catholic Church," from Ignatius downwards, by which grace alone was covenanted, would shrink to a merely conventional or ecclesiastical arrangement. To that position critical learning is rapidly bringing this most famous and most interesting of Church theories. How superb—how arrogant—in the hour of its triumph; how imposing its decline; and how pathetic its appeal to the veneration of the Christian heart! How inevitable its destiny appears from the fact that, from amid the

floods which modern exploration has let loose upon it, its drowning hands clutch at every passing straw.

Our author is very decided in his conviction that the Christian ministry is sacerdotal, and was so from the first. In this he opposes Bishop Lightfoot and many moderate Churchmen. He also holds that "the ministry advanced always upon the principle of a succession." There never was another like St. Paul, who could say that his call was "neither from man nor through man." The Montanists, who did make pretensions of this kind, were treated as pestilent schismatics. Consequently, "the threefold or episcopal organization was everywhere adopted."

It is a most natural result of this argument that the following conclusion should be reached :—

"That the various Presbyterian and Congregational organizations, however venerable on many and different grounds, have, in dispensing with the episcopal successions, violated a fundamental law of the Church's life a ministry not episcopally received is invalid—that is to say, falls outside the conditions of covenanted security, and cannot justify its existence in terms of the covenant" (p. 344).

These are very solemn words; and little need be added to show their importance and significance at the present moment. We may now look a little more particularly at some of the grounds upon which such a conclusion is based.

II. Mr. Gore asks us to allow, not only that the books of the New Testament are authoritative, and the doctrine of the Incarnation true, and that the Church is "visible," but also "that Christ, in founding His Church, founded also a ministry in the Church in the persons of His apostles" (p. 51). There are few Christian people who would not grant so much; and even that the office of the apostles as witnesses to the Resurrection was peculiar, but that their "pastorate of souls" was to be "transmitted." From this, however, Mr. Gore infers that "no ministerial act could be regarded as valid—that is, as having the security of the Divine covenant about it—unless performed under the shelter of a commission, received by transmission of the original pastoral authority which had been delegated by Christ Himself to His apostles" (p. 71).

We presume that Mr. Gore includes St. Paul under the

term "apostles," but he does not expressly say so, nor does he particularly consider his case. We do not see how St. Paul's apostleship can be defended on so strict a definition of "apostolical succession." At the "founding of the Church" the twelve were in sole possession. They were what Mr. Gore calls "the first depositaries" of this "grace" which alone is "valid." They bestowed no gift on Saul of Tarsus. His gospel and commission were not "from man or through men." In many cases it is clear that his "orders" were challenged because they had not come in the "succession." It was urged that he was no "apostle," nor had he "known Christ after the flesh," nor had the "twelve" laid their hands upon him. His history shows that the exclusive authority of the "first depositaries" was to be short indeed.

It will be very clear, as we proceed, that our author does not rest his hopes on the testimony of Scripture. All he requires from the New Testament is evidence of the existence of the Church and its ministry. All else he can find in tradition. He says, "It is a matter of very great importance to exalt the principle of the apostolic succession above the question of the exact form of the ministry." The fact is that the "triple" ministry is unknown in the pages of the New Testament. There were four or five kinds of ministry at Ephesus, two at Philippi, but of three we find no mention. Therefore, "the exact form of the ministry" is not a vital point in Christianity. Why, then, does Mr. Gore say, with Ignatius and Dr. Liddon, that "without bishop, presbyter, and deacon the Church cannot exist"?

If "the exact form of the ministry" was not "of very great importance" in the apostolic age, how could any "exact form" become absolutely essential afterward? We believe that the ministry of St. Paul for ever abolishes the doctrine of a material, mechanical, external "succession," such as that which the Romanist and the Anglican hold. But let us look at another case. Mr. Gore is not a little exercised about Apelles (p. 262). His ordination is not recorded! He had received the baptism of John, and had been working for the kingdom of God. Under the instruction of Priscilla and Aquila he became a full believer in

Jesus as the Son of God, and in Ephesus and Corinth straightway preached salvation. On his departure from Ephesus he was "recommended by the brethren"—not by bishops or apostolic delegates. On his arrival at Corinth he was received—not by bishops and presbyters, but by the "disciples," and "powerfully confuted the Jews, and that publicly." "What then is Apollos? What then is Paul? [Christ's] servants (1 Cor. iii. 4), by whom ye believed," says the Apostle himself.

What a fine opportunity for a discourse on "Apostolical Succession" Paul omitted to use! How cogent would have been his argument with these Corinthians, whose faith he desired "to stand, not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God," if he had exhibited the indispensable and "exact form of the ministry!" Already some boasted of Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, and how effective and conclusive it would have been if he had shown that he never dared to preach until apostolical hands were laid on his head—that Apollos could never have confuted the Jews or preached Christ with saving results unless "grace" from apostolic delegates in Ephesus had imparted it! But, unfortunately, he left them under the impression, which Mr. Gore encourages, that "the exact form of the ministry is not of the very highest importance."

The "transmission" is everything, then, not the "form." Mr. Gore tells us that "the early records present us with a picture of the Church governed by an apostolate. . . . As the Church grows, a local ministry of presbyter-bishops and deacons is developed." The presbyter-bishops could not ordain, for they were "controlled by the superior authority of apostles and apostolic men." These "apostolic men" form the nexus first between the apostles and the presbyter-bishops, and then with the bishops of later time; otherwise we might have conjectured that the later "presbyter-bishops" became "bishops" indeed.

There are, indeed, at this point two theories possible. The bishop of the apostolic age was a presbyter in order, was the pastor of one Church, and had no jurisdiction over the bishops or presbyters of other Churches. But the bishop of a later

time—say in the third century—was an officer of larger influence. He superintended presbyters, regulated worship, and appointed ministers. How did he gain this priority? Was he elevated by his brother presbyters to presidency or chairmanship? This was certainly done in Alexandria in the second and third century. Or did he receive special appointment to his dignity by apostles or “apostolic men?” Mr. Gore contends that the latter was the rule, if not the invariable course. He holds that the later bishops, in this way, became the direct representatives of the apostles: they could transmit the ministry, which, he holds, the presbyter-bishop of the apostolic age could not. It is a little awkward for this theory, however, that Ignatius, to whom this theory makes its appeal, says that the bishops stand in the place of Jesus Christ, and the presbyters in the place of the apostles. This is, we presume, but an incident in the history. But for his theory Mr. Gore tells us there is—

“The evidence of the history of the ministry in Palestine, Syria, and Asia; and, on closer inspection, the evidence which Clement gives as to the development of the Church at Rome and Corinth, while it is not incompatible with the witness of Polycarp’s letter. Thus the presbyters seem never to have held the powers later known as episcopal; but as Church after Church gained a local representative of apostolical authority, the title of bishop was naturally confined in its use to distinguish this ‘successor of the apostles’ among the local presbyters with whom he was associated” (p. 342).

Upon this we may remark (1) that in Palestine James was “bishop” only of Jewish Christians; and, from a special and isolated case, we can scarcely infer what should be the “exact form of the ministry” in the Universal Church. Further, the “Clementines,” which are the first authority for calling James a “bishop,” do not call him Bishop of Palestine, but “the bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy Church of the Hebrews, and the Churches everywhere excellently founded by the providence of God.”* According to this authority, James was bishop of the Universal Church. Dr. Salmon tells us that “this Clementine literature has had a marvellous share in shaping the history of Christendom by

* *Ep. of Clement to James*, ch. i.

inventing the story that Peter was Bishop of Rome."* It is hard to say whether the forgery has been of more service to the Papacy than to Episcopacy. (2) The case of Syria principally depends on the epistles of Ignatius, for the genuineness of which Dr. Lightfoot is now the chief sponsor, though he has not removed all the difficulties which attend their reception as the work of a Syrian bishop in the first decade in the second century. They are very decided about three orders of ministers; but Dr. Lightfoot himself tells us that the Ignatian bishop was not diocesan, but congregational. (3) The "development of the Church at Rome and Corinth"—and, we may add, at Philippi—goes against Mr. Gore's theory. He admits that Clement was not a bishop in the later sense. His epistle speaks of two orders only—bishops and deacons. At least, such is the general opinion; but Mr. Gore, by "a closer inspection," is induced to accept a discovery by Harnack. Clement recognized, he says, an external authority. He speaks to the Corinthians of their "rulers" as well as of their "elders." These "rulers," he thinks, *might have been* "apostolic men."† In that case the Church at Corinth was not governed by a "ruler," or monarchical bishop, but by a plurality of "rulers." Further, Clement does not call himself "Bishop of Rome." His epistle, therefore, is but a reed which will pierce the hand of any who use it for the defence of Episcopacy. (4) Polycarp associates those "who are presbyters along with him" in his epistle to Philippi. At Smyrna the Church was still presbyterian.

Notwithstanding these discouragements which his theory receives in the earliest Christian records, Mr. Gore does not despair. He will not permit the epistle of Clement and the *Didache*—the only surviving monuments of Christian literature, besides the New Testament, belonging to the first century—to pass into the hands of his opponents without a struggle. He asserts that "Clement does recognize a body of men who, at least, appointed the presbyters of Corinth, and

* *Introd. to the New Test.*, p. 19.

† *Ep. Clem.*, 1 and 21, *ἱγούμενοι* and *προηγούμενοι*. Usually, this title, "ruler," has been taken as exegetic of "elder." Clement's style is Hebraistic.

whom it is natural to identify with the 'rulers' mentioned elsewhere" (p. 323). According to his own account, these "rulers" were superior to the "presbyter-bishops," for they "appointed them at Corinth" and in other places. Then, how did the bishops eventually get the upper hand, or how did they acquire the authority which had belonged to apostles and apostolic men? Our author is quite equal to the occasion, though, as he says, "there is some uncertainty." He says: "This is the same class of men who, in the *Didache*, are known as 'prophets' or 'teachers,' and whose authority, under St. John's last arrangements, passed to the local presidents, who were known as 'bishops.'" Who can desire a more rational or a more plausible explanation?

But at the risk of being thought unreasonable we must ask whether this reference to the *Didache* is justifiable, and on what grounds these "last arrangements" may be traced to St. John? The notion that the "apostolic man" was superior to bishops is not new. Wesley, in his *Notes* on "Timothy," says of him that "he was, as was Titus, an itinerant Evangelist, a kind of secondary apostle, whose office was to regulate all things, and to inspect and reform whatsoever was amiss in bishops, deacons, or people." Before him Bengel had said: "Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus at Crete, were not bishops, but directors of bishops, and as it were vicars-apostolic." Among ecclesiastical writers it has been generally contended that they were the first diocesan bishops. But, whatever they were, it is not very likely that Jewish Christians, who looked to James as their bishop, would recognize these representatives of Paul.

Of the *Didache* Mr. Gore himself says: "It belongs rather to the enlightened synagogue than to the illuminated Church." In the Churches which it represents there was not a threefold ministry. The Church was to "elect for themselves bishops and deacons." They had occasional visits from other Christian teachers or prophets; but there is no trace of any custom by which these occasional ministers took it upon them to "appoint" bishops. The very contrary is said—namely, that the Church elected its own ministers. Permission is given to the Prophets "to give thanks (or eucharize) as they please."

Would superior officers of the Church have needed such a permission? The Churches were to try the prophet's doctrine; and if he remained in one place three days they might conclude that he was a false prophet. Would these Churches entrust the appointment of their "rulers" to such persons? The *Didache* does say that the prophets must offer the contributions of the people because they were "chief priests," but this was evidently a figurative expression. The whole tone of the *Didache* in regard to this class of ministers shows that their only influence was derived from their being supposed to "speak in the spirit," and not from their representing either Christ or His Apostles. When one came he had not to adduce evidence that he came from Jerusalem or Antioch, but his teaching and behaviour were his credentials. Yet Mr. Gore snatches at the shadowy figure of this primitive prophet, invests him with "the first rank in the Church ministry," and brings him forward as the "missing link" between apostles of the first age and the bishops of later times. "Can we doubt then that, in the event of this prophetic teacher taking up his permanent residence in any Church, with his authority as an inspired man, with his free power of Eucharistic celebration, and with his 'high-priestly' dignity, he would have become (by whatever name he was called) the bishop of the community in the later sense?" This is how we are to believe that the itinerant missioner of the sub-apostolic Church became the prototype of the "priest" and "bishop" through whom alone grace could come into human souls.

But let us look at the suggestion that it was through "the last arrangements of St. John" that the authority of prophets, teachers, evangelists, and apostles passed "to the local presidents known as 'bishops.'" A matter which the advocates of the "succession" make somewhat prominent, we must not lightly pass over.

Bishop Lightfoot lends himself to the support of the tradition that "Episcopacy" commenced with St. John in Asia. It is not very clear how St. John, who was a "pillar" at Jerusalem, could become the "president" of the Pauline Churches in proconsular Asia. Certainly he had been taught that men "should worship God in spirit and in truth," and not

be limited to sacred places. He reports that great saying of our Lord, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring, and there shall be one flock." The ancient tradition that he consented to become the pastor of a united flock in Asia has something in its favour.

Yet the tradition is vague and mythical. Eusebius reports an Asiatic bishop, Polycrates, who describes St. John as a priest wearing a mitre! The Alexandrian Clement (A.D. 195) says John went from Patmos to Ephesus, "to appoint bishops, to set in order whole Churches, to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit."* Mr. Gore is quite sure that these were not "presbyter-bishops" who had no power of ordination, but were real "bishops." This is clear, he thinks, because only one bishop was ordained for each place. Unhappily for this opinion, only one congregation is spoken of in the place in question. The same account relates also how St. John gave a young man into the care of the "presbyter," who had just been made "bishop." So that this wonderful distinction between St. John's bishops and other bishops falls to the ground.

However, Mr. Gore is confident that "here we have St. John organizing episcopacy about Ephesus." No doubt if the beloved disciple resided there he would care for the Churches, and even appoint ministers and bishops; but it does not follow, because he appointed them, that they differed from the other bishops of the apostolic age.

But Clement tells us that the persons appointed were "marked out by the Spirit." Were these persons prophets and teachers who had received a charism? Had they before ordination received the Spirit, by which they prophesied and taught? Was this how they were "marked out by the Spirit?" Was this the reason for their ordination? What becomes, then, of the supposition that the "gift" came by ordination?

But the theory is that these "apostolic men" were the "itinerant Evangelists," prophets, and teachers—the "movable episcopate." They had received the Spirit from the apostles

* Cl. Alex., *Quis dives*, 42.

in a superior degree to ordinary presbyter-bishops. When they located they became "bishops" in the higher sense, and could "transmit" the ministry. Mr. Gore also asks us to believe that it was "by St. John's latest arrangement" that this was done. But would these men who, it is supposed on this hypothesis, had already received apostolic authority, need any further warrant? Having made bishops themselves, surely they would not need "appointment" by St. John!

We cannot but think that Mr. Gore has never thought of the spontaneous character of the first Churches, which, humanly speaking, were but voluntary associations of believers. There was "no exact form of the ministry" absolutely identical in every place. There was as much freedom in the first Christian assemblies as in the synagogues. In the synagogue at Nazareth our Lord was allowed to expound the Scripture, and St. Paul was asked to address the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. This freedom in the synagogues gave the Gospel its first great opportunity. Likewise in the Churches there was space given to any one who had a psalm, a prophecy, a tongue, an interpretation. Can we believe that no one ever spake in these assemblies except by a charism received from an apostle? It was soon observed that the "same spirit" produced different results, and some prophesied and some spake with tongues. But who placed these "prophets and teachers" above all other recipients of grace in the Church? Indeed, this whole scheme which exalts the "itinerant Evangelist" and prophet above the bishops of Churches had better be withdrawn, in the interests of "apostolical succession" itself.

We see, then, that the advocates of the "succession" allow that the New Testament gives no direct testimony to the "exact form" which the ministry assumed in Church history! The "bishop" spoken of in the New Testament was an inferior officer to the "bishop" of "the Catholic Church." The latter had received "apostolic" authority and power to "transmit" the ministry. How this came to pass is "somewhat uncertain," says Mr. Gore, and in this opinion we unhesitatingly join. His opinion is, as we have seen, that "itinerant Evangelists" received in connection with their charismata the "apostolic"

gift which was withheld from "presbyter-bishops."* But, whatever the mode, the fact of the transmission became an item of the general creed of the Church.

As we said before, the fabric of "apostolical succession" rests upon tradition. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, and all others after their day, trace "episcopacy" to the apostles. In the time of Irenæus (the end of the second century) it was customary to trace the authority of the "bishops" to the apostles. But Irenæus does not absolutely distinguish between the bishop and the presbyter, any more than does Clement of Alexandria.

Further, Mr. Gore allows that the testimony of Irenæus is not infallible on all subjects. Though he claims to have known Polycarp and other "elders" who had known St. John and other apostles, he reports our Lord to have exercised a ministry of eight years in length; and, besides, he favoured chiliastic dreams. Mr. Gore says it was not likely that he would make a mistake on "matters of such primary importance as the character and traditional reputation of the Church ministry. . . . On such matters a mistake is hardly possible." But on this point we must quote Dr. Lightfoot:—

"Towards the close of the second century, the original application of the term 'bishop' seems to have passed not only out of use, but out of *memory*. So perhaps we may account for the explanation which Irenæus gives of the incident at Miletus (Acts xx. 17-28)—'Having called together the bishops and presbyters, who were from Ephesus and the other neighbouring cities.' But in the fourth century, when the Fathers of the Church began to examine the apostolic records with a more critical eye, they at once detected the fact. No one states it more clearly than Jerome. 'Among the ancients,' he says, 'bishops and presbyters are the same, for the one is a term of dignity, the other of age'" (Dr. Lightfoot, on *Philippians*, p. 96).

From this it is clear that neither did Irenæus nor Tertullian—nor, what is more significant yet, did Cyprian—understand the true genesis of the "bishop." For the purposes of true science respecting "the exact form of the ministry" these "Fathers" are out of court. The quotation from Jerome shows that Mr. Gore's fanciful distinction between "bishops" and

* How strange, then, that St. Paul should say to the "presbyters" at Ephesus, "the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops."

“bishops” has no foundation. “Bishops,” who in Jerome’s time were distinguished and elevated above presbyters, were among “the ancients” not so distinguished. Jerome’s superior light came from Scripture, with all of which Irenæus might not be so well acquainted as Jerome and Ambrosiaster. The flash of light gleams yet on the pages of Augustine, Chrysostom, and a few others; it lit up with tragic vividness the fateful course of poor Aerius; and then it passed away, to be scarcely seen until the Reformation.

Eusebius, the Church historian (A.D. 325), is a valiant upholder of the “succession,” and gives lists of the “bishops” through whom, in various places, the succession had descended. But he writes in utter unconsciousness of any distinction between New Testament episcopacy and that of his own time. He gives the names of the earliest “successors of the apostles.” Linus, he tells us, who was resident at Rome with Paul when he wrote to Timothy, succeeded Peter as Bishop of Rome. In this he follows Irenæus, who gives the same report. Crescens (2 Tim. iv. 10) went to Gaul or Galatia; Clement (Phil. iv. 3) became the third successor of Peter; and Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts xviii. 34) became Bishop of Athens. Whether localized or itinerant, every bishop was for Eusebius a successor of the apostles. By his time almost every name mentioned in the apostolic epistles had become the nucleus of a legend relating to the “succession.” The “Clementines” had already “shaped the history of Christendom,” and soon after the “Apostolic Constitutions” (“forged in the fourth century in the interests of episcopacy,” as Dr. Hook allows) completed the work. These were appropriate antecedents to the forged “Decretals” of following centuries, upon which the Papal claims were based for a thousand years.

It is needful, however, to ask what was the doctrine of “apostolical succession,” as held by Irenæus and Tertullian? Did it imply that no one was regarded as a Christian, whatever his creed or spiritual life, unless he was attached to some Church which could trace its historical descent from the apostles? By no means. The fact that he held apostolic doctrine made him a successor of the apostles. The question

was raised on the matter of doctrine. The New Testament in its complete form was not as yet established as the "rule of faith and practice." Gospels and epistles were known and referred to, but the testimony of historic Churches was also considered to be of importance. Churches like those of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and Antioch were appealed to to decide what was orthodox. They were the security for correct teaching.

The fact is, that heretical teachers had already appealed to "tradition" against the written Gospels. But Irenæus (iii. 2, &c.) insists that "the tradition which originates from apostles is preserved by means of the successions of the presbyters in the Churches." Here apostolical succession is not through bishops, but through presbyters. "We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation than from those through whom the Gospel (the tradition of sound and saving doctrine) has come down to us."

We cannot now refer in detail to Mr. Gore's use of authorities in defence of his thesis. He is skilful, to say the least, in using expressions taken from writers who do not wholly coincide with him, but who occasionally appear to lend him aid. We cannot think that Canon Westcott, whose note on 1 John i. 3 he quotes, would fully accept Mr. Gore's proposition, that "fellowship with God is to be won through fellowship with His Son, and that not otherwise than through fellowship with His Church." By "Church" Mr. Gore means, of course, a "visible society," with three orders of ministers only—all others being "outside the covenant."

Again, on p. 256, he quotes Dr. Harnack as of the opinion "that the Eucharist was regarded from the first in the Church as a sacrifice." Dr. Harnack does say certainly so much, and quotes the *Didache*, Justin Martyr, and others, in favour of that view. But Mr. Gore proceeds to speak of the "sacrifice" as being "in essential union with the one sacrifice." He does not go on to quote what Harnack says lower down, that it is a misunderstanding to suppose that Justin regarded the "offering" as that of the body of Christ; that Justin regarded the value of the gifts only as depending on the prayers with which they were connected; that, indeed, "according to Justin,

the offering in the Lord's Supper consisted in the making of thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίαν προεῖν*), whereby, out of the 'common bread' is made the 'bread of thanksgiving.''* As Mr. Gore's references stand, it might seem that both Justin and Harnack might be quoted in favour of the "Mass" and transubstantiation besides.

III. It would be impossible, in the brief space of a single article, to review all the topics which occupy Mr. Gore's four hundred pages. His book bears the evidence of considerable industry, and a wide extent of ecclesiastical literature, ancient and modern, is brought under reference. But he is too decided a partisan for us to accept his judgment on any critical question as final, and on some points, like that of the actual circumstances of the New Testament Churches, he appears to be only beginning to realize the facts. His "Appendix" is occupied with somewhat extensive notes on some questions relating to the general subject, but little is added to what was already well known. Our objections to his theory and conclusions are of the deepest kind.

1. We need scarcely say that the entire view of the Christian religion is affected by this theory. He holds that "communion with God depends on communion with His Church," and this a Church which has the "apostolic succession" in three orders of ministers. "A ministry not episcopally received is invalid—that is to say, falls outside the conditions of covenanted security." Against such a scheme of salvation we think it is enough to set our Lord's words: "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for such doth the Father seek to be His worshippers." Mr. Gore's theory takes us back on Judaism, on ceremonialism, on the legalism from which Christianity was a deliverance. It makes the "Church" the way to God—"the means of communion with Him," and even the indispensable way to Christ: whereas, the Lord has said, "I am the way; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me."

Mr. Gore's passing assertion, that his views do not violently contradict St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, is not

* *Dogmengeschichte*, von A. Harnack, i. p. 162.

at all satisfactory. The apostle argues that all men are born in sin, and that through Christ they are brought into a state of grace. The subject of his controversy with his fellow Jews was the ground on which any son of Adam could receive the favour and spirit of God. The Jew said that "communion with God depended on communion with His Church." Paul, on the other hand, insisted that men of every nation should be "justified by faith :" "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." St. Paul said, "By grace are ye saved through faith :" Mr. Gore says (p. 49), "There is a distinction between grace and faith. Grace comes to Christians through social sacraments. . . . Faith is no faith if it isolates a man from the fellowship of the one body. . . . Men are justified by nothing of national or local observance like the law." But St. Paul's distinction between the "law" and "faith" was not grounded on "national or local" considerations. This interpretation, rather popular with "Catholic" theologians, is not sound. The apostle's argument was founded on a discrimination between the innate genius of the one system and that of the other. He who sought to base his justification on "works," even on those of outward communion, had "fallen from grace." "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly," said St. Paul : Mr. Gore says, "He is no Christian unless he is one outwardly." Between the two conceptions of the nature of Christianity itself we can scarcely measure the distance.

2. The position which Mr. Gore takes is that which the Romish Church assumes.

His book on *Roman Catholic Claims* has been published since the book on the *Ministry*. The higher Anglican party have at length taken alarm at the spread of Romanism in England, and there are many signs that they are entering into controversy with it. Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons* is an excellent popular compendium of information on the subject. Mr. Gore earnestly contends with Romanism in its appeal to Scripture and the Fathers. But, in every case where he does this successfully, he is compelled to fall back on the principles of a spiritual Christianity. We could not wish for better

replies to several of his points on the *Ministry* than those he makes in the *Claims*. Yet, if the argument of the former is valid, and no ministry or Church-membership authorized except in the visible society, "from Ignatius down to the Reformation," we do not see how the argument of the Romish priest can be resisted. Mr. Gore allows that their Church and ministry are "valid," and, since there can be but one Church—one "visible society"—such, as we understand it, is his contention—surely, we may say, *Causa finita est*.

3. Mr. Gore's book has an important significance in regard to the progress of Christian unity. The Lambeth Synod last year had before it the question of the "non-episcopal Christian denominations," and some signs of a desire to recognize them were evinced. But this book is a challenge to maintain the old separations. The "non-episcopalian" orthodox Churches recognize one another. No dialectic difference of creed or mere variety of practice precludes their occasional exhibition of unity. Presbyterian and Congregational, Methodist and Baptist, have no question about the validity of their diversified Church orders. But the Romanist and Anglican still insist on the excommunication of all other Churches besides their own. In this way it comes to pass that the responsibility for the present divisions of English Christianity rests with them. As long as they insist on a formal unity, for which the New Testament gives no warrant, the true Catholicism cannot become universal. Therefore the "sin of schism" belongs to the party so ready to bring the charge against others.

4. We must not omit to notice the stupendous assumption by which Mr. Gore—following the Romanist and Tractarian authors who have dealt with the subject—would explain the operation of "grace" in the non-episcopal Churches. These Churches have carried Christianity round the world. This form of Christianity prevails by a majority of millions in the United States, Canada, Australasia; it has reclaimed Fiji, Madagascar, Kaffraria, and other parts of the world, from heathenism. But all this "grace" is "uncovenanted." Are there then two economies of redemption? With all reverence we must ask—Are there two Holy Spirits? Does

one work within the Church, the other without? If it is said that the "grace" is dispensed with a "fulness" in episcopal Churches which is not granted in the other cases, we should be glad to learn what the elements of this "fulness" are. With St. Paul's Epistles in their hands, and "the logic of facts" growing stronger every day, the non-episcopal Churches at the end of the nineteenth century are not confounded, because the "Principal of Pusey House" does not regard them as being in the "succession." They can only mourn that one in his position should so passionately toil for the maintenance of the intolerable tyrannies which are chiefly to blame for the divisions of Christendom.

ART. V.—ST. PATRICK AND EARLY IRISH ART.

1. *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other Documents relating to that Saint.* Edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., LL.D., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, &c. (Rolls Series.) London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1888.
2. *A Short History of the Irish People down to the Plantation of Ulster.* By the late A. G. RICHEY, Q.C., LL.D., Deputy Regius Professor of English and Feudal Law in Dublin University. Dublin: Hodges & Figgis. 1887.
3. *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland.* (The Rhind Archaeological Lectures for 1885.) By J. ROMILLY ALLEN. London: Whiting & Co. 1887.
4. *South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks: Early Christian Art in Ireland.* By MARGARET STOKES. London: Published by the Committee of Council on Education. 1888.
5. *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland.* By Lieut.-Col. WOOD-MARTIN. Dublin: Hodges & Figgis. 1886.

THE Irish Exhibition in London is over; and, though it is too soon to estimate its results, these have undoubtedly been considerable, both as regards Ireland and England.

Many of us cannot fail to have been impressed with the feeling that something better may be done with such clever workers than to send the best of them wholesale across the Atlantic, to the manifest weakening of the Empire. And in the artistic features of that Exhibition, both ancient and modern, many must have seen capabilities which, under fair culture, will reproduce something like Ireland's old excellence. For Ireland was an artistic country when England distinctly was not. Of really British work, similar to the Gallic and not unlike the oldest Irish, very little is left, and that only in metal. Soon after the Christian era, art in South Britain ceased to be British and became Roman; and with the departure of the Romans set in a long night of art, in which, whatever gleams appear—for instance, the earliest of the so-called Anglo-Saxon illuminations, the "Saxon" crosses, and other examples of carved stonework—are manifestly due to Irish (Scotic) influence. For centuries Roman culture had very little effect on Anglo-Saxon art. Augustine and his suite were simply missionaries, working within a very narrow range, and attaching themselves to kings and their courts. St. Patrick's large following comprised craftsmen who wrought for and with the people. Wherever he went (says the *Tripartite Life*) he left a book-shrine, or a bell, or a metal table, or a chalice. The fact is certain; these Patrician missionaries brought art with them, and found, moreover, an artistic capacity in the people. Their successors became artists as well as missionaries; almost every square mile in their island bears witness to this, and in England and Scotland "Scotic" sculptures are the landmarks of that Scotic preaching to which the conversion of both North and South Britain was so largely due.

The art thus imported was not Roman but Eastern.* Professor G. T. Stokes, whose Lectures we reviewed in October 1887, recognizes this; and he traces this Eastern element, not to the apocryphal influence of Johannine missionaries, but from Syria, through that Southern Gaul with which persistent

* Its completest analogue is, perhaps, Georgian art, as seen in the oldest Georgian churches.

tradition associates the beginnings of Irish Christianity. Moreover, it was grafted on a pre-existing culture of a relatively high order. As we said (No. 87, page 61): "Some arts had undoubtedly attained a high development in heathen Ireland; and poverty of building materials does not necessarily imply little comfort or a low state of civilization." A chief, whose dwelling was a *rath*—earthwork, with wattled buildings inside a stockade, and whose walls at best were (as Tacitus describes those of the Germans) "overlaid with an earth so pure and bright that it resembled painting"—would have a brooch of which the chasing and enamelling is the despair of nineteenth century goldsmiths, a sword-sheath with the inlaid work that is simply inimitable, and a bronze trumpet which competent modern judges pronounce to be "the most perfect piece of riveting yet discovered in all Europe." A cleric, whose monastery was a set of beehive cells, with a church of unbaked clay (called in Devon, *cob*; in Norfolk, *lumps*), the whole surrounded with a cashel or wall of loose stone, would possess, and would be competent to make a copy of, the Gospels or Psalms, illuminated in a style that has never been equalled, at any rate in the Western world; while his altar vessels (of which we have an example in the famous Ardagh chalice) would be of the same exquisite workmanship as the chief's brooch and sword-sheath.

What share in all this is due to the Saint and his followers, and what to pre-existent culture, will never be satisfactorily determined. Irish writers have often claimed too much; in art, as in history, they have been eager to weigh the questionable glories of the past against the manifest shortcomings of the present. There is not much to show compared with what is found in the lands of early civilization, and yet (as a walk round the Royal Irish Academy Museum proves) there is more evidence of artistic talent, displayed in an absolutely larger number of "finds," than has yet come to light in either Germany or England.

Above ground, what is left to us of undoubtedly pre-Christian date is little indeed. Stoneworks like Staigue Fort in Kerry, near O'Connell's Derrynane, and Dun *Ængus* on the largest of the Isles of Arran; pillar-stones, like those so common in

West Cornwall (where they are sometimes sepulchral), but scored with "Ogham" inscriptions, in what most Gaelic scholars believe to be a pre-Christian Irish alphabet, whether of home invention or borrowed from Gaul (*Ogmius* is the Latinized name of the Gaulish god of letters and eloquence); raths—i.e., circular earthworks—of which the visitor will find examples almost everywhere, the most notable being Rath Keltair, near Downpatrick, and the various structures (Rath Righ, *King's fort*, &c.) on the hill of Tara. A third class of works, also common to both islands, are sepulchral mounds, the finest Irish instance being the twin hills of Dowth and Nowth (Gaelic—Dubhath and Cnoabh) and the still larger hill of Newgrange, all of them near the Boyne battle-field. These, which may be conveniently visited by any one who tarries in Drogheda to examine the beautiful high crosses of Monasterboice, are the most remarkable structures of their kind in Europe. Probably every dolmen (so long misnamed cromlech, which properly means a circle of stones) was once covered with earth, and approached through a stone-roofed and stone-walled gallery. In West Cornwall one of these galleries still remains (in Sancreed parish). There is a fine example at Marmion le Vicomte near Caen, of which the Caen Museum contains a good model. But these are on a small scale; approach to the central chamber could only have been possible for one groping on hands and knees; whereas the Newgrange gallery is 4 feet high at its mouth, and gradually increases in height, till, at the entrance of the central chamber, it is fully 18 feet high. The Boyne tumuli (composed almost wholly of stones) must have been the burial-places of a whole clan; their size, as compared with any hitherto explored in Britain (for Silbury Hill is still unexplored), is relatively far greater than that of the subterranean dwelling-chambers found in almost every rath as compared with the "fogos," or similar chambers, in Cornwall. The central chamber, 20 feet square by 18 feet high, is walled with immense blocks of stone—water-worn (probably brought from the river's mouth), and carved with spirals, zigzags, lozenges, chevrons, and, in one instance, with a fern-branch, like a carving inside the famous Breton tomb at Gavrinis near Lokmariaker. A good deal of the carving must

have been done before the stones were put into place, for it is continued round the sides of the joints where no tool could possibly be worked. The carving inside the Dowth tumulus is more varied than that at Newgrange ; the cross appears several times ; but, as students of Mexican and Egyptian sculptures know, the cross is not an exclusively Christian symbol.* In several places in the south of Ireland are caves, notably at Dunloe, with similar carvings, as well as what are wholly wanting in the Boyne tumuli—Ogham inscriptions ; but the visitor will find nothing so well worth seeing as Newgrange and its fellows ; and, if provided with a coil of magnesium wire, he will be able to form a clear idea of the skill in carving possessed by these early builders. For Newgrange the Irish name is the Brugh (royal dwelling, modern *bruff*) of Ængus, a mythical chief belonging to the first of the three successive waves of population—Firbolg, Danaan, and Scot—recognized by Irish tradition. To these remains, below and above ground, must be added a few bronze ornaments, many leaf-shaped swords, bronze saddle-fronts, shields, sword-sheaths, in which the bronze is exquisitely inlaid with niello (*nigellum*), chessmen and dice, gold torques, and gold crescents of uncertain use, &c. Of these there was a grand find at Dunshaughlin, co. Meath, or rather in the neighbouring *crannog* (artificial island) of Lagore. Still finer sword-blades, with bronze sheaths, were found five years ago in the *crannog* of Lisnacroghera, near Broughshane, co. Antrim. These sheaths (figured in Colonel Wood-Martin's splendid monograph on "Irish Lake Dwellings"), are carved with that "double spiral" or trumpet-shaped ornament which is distinctively Irish, and which, mixed in the later specimens with Eastern forms (interlaced and knot-work), does not finally disappear till the end of the eleventh century. That the armourer's craft dated from very early times we gather from legends describing the making of the spears (with bronze butts and rivets and iron heads) used in one of the great mythical fights. And that life before St. Patrick's day was enlivened with social games is made probable by a tale undoubtedly

* When found on pillar-stones it is often long posterior to their erection.] [St. Patrick, says tradition, never passed such a stone without stopping to carve on it the symbol of the Faith.

earlier than the beginning of the fifth century, which tells how, a century before Christ, King Eochaidh, sitting in his palace at Tara, "was challenged to a game of chess by a stranger of remarkable appearance, who turned out to be a *sidhe* (inferior god)." A stone chess-board was found in the Lagore *crannog*; and the references to the game in the old books are frequent.

O'Curry, in his *Manners and Customs*, is perhaps disposed to overrate the culture of pre-Christian Irish times. It is seldom safe to assume that the dress, furniture, &c., mentioned in a legend is at all older than the time when the legend was written out. The scribe would dress up scenes and persons as he saw them around him; here and there a bit of verse, far older than the story itself, is imbedded in it, and this sometimes gives a hint of how things really were in that remote past to which the legend refers; but the legend-writer never saw the anachronism of transferring the habits of his own day to mythical times: the Court of Arthur, for instance, is in every respect like that of some Provençal or Breton prince. Still, O'Curry is justified in claiming for pre-Christian Ireland a very considerable amount of civilization; while Miss Stokes, of all writers on Irish antiquities the most cautious, is certainly not likely to exaggerate. She never goes farther than the actual "finds" of which the date is beyond dispute; and yet in them she sees, not only an aptitude which quickly profited by the teaching of the missionaries, but also a previous proficiency equalling, if it did not surpass, what is evidenced by the few objects which remain of pre-Roman work in Gaul and Britain. As severe, in its way, as Miss Stokes's method, is that adopted by Mr. Whitley Stokes in his brief account of "The Social Condition of Early Irish." He has catalogued under various heads the objects, &c., mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*; but as, judging from the grammatical forms (Middle Irish), this life was not compiled before A.D. 1000, the doubt may be urged how far the monkish compiler acted as a mediæval romance-writer would have done—transferring to an earlier age his own surroundings. The answer is that there would certainly be in the compiler's mind a reverence for the text of his earlier documents which the

layman did not feel, and which would make him very chary of altering. We can test this for some four centuries back. The documents preserved in the Book of Armagh, Bishop Tirechan's notes, Muirchu's memoirs, &c., are certainly not later than the middle of the seventh century; and yet the state of society of which they speak is the very same as that described in the *Tripartite Life*. Patrick's own writings—the Confession, and the Epistle to Coroticus, a nominally Christian Welsh prince, who, on a raid, had carried off some of the Saint's Christian Irish—say little or nothing of the state of the people among whom he came; but in the *Life* reference is made to wine and white bronze (the material of the celebrated Tara brooch), showing an import trade; to horses for draught as well as saddle—the names are native, one of them, *marc*, being the same as the Breton; the usual Irish word, *choppel* (caballus, cheval) does not occur in the *Life*. Other tame animals were the cat and lapdog, the goat (used to carry water), the deer (the native name was wild ox; the hind seems to have been milked). Of boats nine kinds, most of them with native names, are mentioned. Gloves are named, and dressmakers and embroiderers. In the house of a rich man who feasts the king we read of "fifty heroes with their purple garments, who make music, along with fifty maidens, whose golden-yellow hair is over their robes." Gold is plentiful; Patrick's master, when he is a swineherd, says he shall not go free unless he gives him a lump of gold as big as his head; Patrick, led by the Spirit, finds a nugget of the required size. Querns are in general use, but water-mills also are frequent. Corn of various kinds is tilled, and also flax. Grafting is practised, and herb-gardens are spoken of. The fields were fenced; the road had to be wide enough for two chariots to pass. From the abundance of native words for doctoring and diseases, we may infer that when Patrick, being asked to work a miracle, replied, "God heals by the hands of the physician," he spoke to hearers well acquainted with leech-craft.* Of native legal words there are

* Very notable in the Brehon Law are the arrangements (*Senchus Mor.*, vol. i. 131) for nursing the sick. He must be in a comfortable, well-drained house, with four doors, and water running across the middle of it. A nurse is to see that the physician's orders as to food are attended to, and that he is kept free from fool's and female scolds.

many : *corus*, for instance, meaning generally due order. Then there is the law of distress, the development of which takes up such a large part of the *Senchus* (Brehon Code), and which, as Sir H. Maine (*Early History of Institutions*) shows, is such a complete analogue of the common law of England. "Fasting on a debtor or other culprit" (the idea being that he must in honour do the same till he shall make reparation) is several times mentioned in the Saint's life ; it is curious to find this "sitting *dharna*" of the Hindoos in use among their Aryan kinsmen of the extreme West.

Nothing is more certain than that the Brehon Code, so unwisely abolished by James I.'s lawyers, was in force long before Christian times. Patrick found the *brithemain* (Brehons) giving judgment on what Mr. Stokes "with some doubt renders maxims and precedents" (Introd. clxxviii.). The weakness of the code was that of the tribal system—there was no strong executive, no irresistible power in the background ; it rested to a great extent on public opinion ; but in the tribal state public opinion is strong, and such legends as "the collar of Moran," which tightened round the neck of the judge who was deciding falsely, and of the spots on judges' cheeks the hue of which was an index to the value of their ruling, show the esteem of the pre-Christian Irish for that justice which Sir J. Davis, James I.'s lawyer, said they prize more highly than any people on the earth. For contracts there are several native words ; and an old proverb, imbedded in the *Senchus*, says : "One of the three periods at which the world dies is the dissolution of verbal contracts." Land was mostly tribal, divided according to the wants of each family—the principle of the Russian *mir* ; yet there co-existed with this rule inheritance and individual ownership. The poor were not neglected ; the chief had a portion of land specially set apart for widows and for those ruined in war. Punishments were nearly all fines (*eric*) ; the doom pronounced on the slayer of Patrick's charioteer, who that day had asked the Saint to change places with him, was looked on as an innovation. The judgment, "that the slayer should get death in this world, but eternal life in the world to come," was delivered by Dubhthach, the royal poet, one of the Saint's first converts, "who put a

thread of poetry round the *Senchus* for Patrick;” and he laments grievously that he has to go against “the Gospel law of perfect forgiveness.” For some murders, however, the heathen code did adjudge death as the penalty, for we read of three modes of inflicting it—by beheading, or drowning, or driving a chariot over the criminal.*

One thing is certain: at the dawn of Irish history, every one, slaves included, had rights. One of the oldest fragments imbedded in the *Senchus* (comparable with the passages from the *Book of Jasher*, and the *Wars of the Lord*) is the story of Fergus Wry-Mouth, king of Ulster (versified by Sir S. Ferguson, and also by Miss K. Tynan). What concerns us in this legend is that Fergus’s slave girl had rights; as the *Senchus* expresses it, “He killed her in her truth,” and therefore her people (she was of the Feini—the older race) claimed both her *eric* and her “honour price”; and the result was a war of reprisals between the Feini and the Ulstermen.

Here, then, is clear proof that all the elaborate class arrangements were not evolved, after the English invasion, by Brehons, whose occupation as judges being lessened, were free to give their minds to subtleties, but had a basis in fact.† The Feini, according to the latest authorities, were Firbolg—members, *i.e.*, of a subject race; Dorn, handmaid of Fergus, was not only a Feine, but a bondwoman. Yet she had rights. Those whose interest in the subject is limited should at least read Dr. Richey’s remarks on Irish tribal law. And no one, we may remark, can thoroughly understand present Irish politics without knowing something about a system which lasted on with little alteration from St. Patrick’s day till that

* The sad story of Lupait, Patrick’s sister, who, after sharing his captivity, helped him in his mission, seems as if death was sometimes the penalty for unchastity. Lupait brings scandal on the Church “by the sin of lust which she committed.” As Patrick was driving she threw herself on her knees before the horses. “The chariot over her!” said the Saint. “Three times it went over her, for she still would come in front of it. Wherefore she went to heaven, and was afterwards buried by Patrick and her requiem sung.” Her son Colman became the ancestor of several Saints. No greater testimony to the general truthfulness of the *Life* could be found than this damaging story thus unhesitatingly given.

† Compare the minute rules laid down in “the Welsh laws of Howell Dha (the good);” and see the description in Gregory of Tours, of a Frank or Aquitanian chief’s hall—so like that of an Irish king.

of James I., and "which was founded on principles not only unfamiliar to us, but absolutely contradictory to those which we believe to be of universal application and primary necessity. It requires an effort so completely to cast off modern prejudices as to realize a community without government or executive, without laws in the modern sense of the term; in which the individual had no rights save as a member of a family and which yet, in the absence of all that we now imagine essential to a community, was not a chaos, but firmly knit together and regulated in the minutest details of life by an undefined and unaccountable concurrence of all its members in certain inarticulate rules, the sum of which may be expressed in the word 'custom'" (Richey, p. 35). "A damnable custom, this Brehon" said James's lawyers; and their having acted on that verdict caused trouble of which we have not yet seen the end. Of its power for good we have a striking proof in the very few cases of disputed election (compared with what arose in the history of Poland, for instance), though the chieftainship, limited, indeed, to the ruling family, was never, in our sense, hereditary. Whatever the Irish clans fought about—and their fights were far less frequent than those of the Teutonic chiefs in Gaul, which led to the institution of "the truce of God," and forced men for very weariness to elaborate the feudal system—a tribe seldom quarrelled whether son or uncle or nephew should succeed the dead chief. During his lifetime he usually, with the suffrages of the clan, named his successor (*tanist*, appositely compared by Dr. Richey with the German Emperor's "King of the Romans"; we may add, the Roman Emperor's "Cæsar"); and feuds like those of English Royal houses under the Heptarchy, and of the Merovingian and other Continental families, were rare among the people to whom Patrick came. No doubt things got worse; the chiefs grew more masterful. They had far less power in the fifth century than they had after the old civilization had been broken in pieces, first by the Danish wars, and then by the successive inroads of Anglo-Norman "undertakers" (i.e., stirrers up of private war for the sake of getting land). Their power, at first strictly limited by prescription, grew with the decay of the tribal system. They always had in

hand a large portion of tribal lands ; and this (in days when the possession of land was an accident, and consanguinity, real or fictitious, was what held men together) they were bound to use for maintaining the indigent members of the clan. By-and-by when, by the Danish inroads, clans were broken up and driven off, their members took refuge among their neighbours, and became the vassals ("house-carls," says Richey) of the chiefs, quartered by them on the land which they held in trust for their own poor. Miss Lawless traces to this the origin of rack-rents. When a member of the clan wished for more land ("the grass of more cows") than he had received in the temporary partition, he could rent some of the "charity land" (as we may call it), if there was any unappropriated ; but his rent, fixed by custom, was to be very trifling. On the other hand, "the broken man" (*fuidhir*), incomer from another clan, might be charged any rent the chief pleased. He was outside the pale of custom. These "clients" gradually became a body-guard for the chiefs, rendering them more and more independent of the tribe, which they overawed, and enforcing those exactions ("coyne and livery," the Tudor lawyers called them) which Spenser in his *State of Ireland* so scathingly denounces.

Our contention then is that the heathen Irish were certainly no more savages than were the Gauls when Cæsar first invaded them. They had native words for marriage and husband and wife ; marriage between slaves was recognized. Polygamy, though rare, was practised for the same reason which made it (says Cæsar) not unusual among Gallic chiefs—to strengthen themselves by widening their family connections ; but the first wife was "the wife ;" others, St. Patrick names concubines, though, acting on the principles of Roman law, he does not hesitate to bless (*i.e.*, to recognize) their offspring. The equality between man and man may be inferred, hints Mr. Stokes, from the rareness of honorific titles, at a time when every petty Teutonic conqueror was childishly eager for them. The Irish had native words for drawing and moulding, for musical instruments : the word for flute is wholly native ; *tob*, a trumpet, is certainly not derived from, but stands in the

same relation to *tuba*, as *crott*, a harp, a sister word, does to *cithara*. They certainly understood wood-carving: St. Patrick speaks of *imagines ligneæ*—probably stone-carving—for by several accounts the great idol worshipped on the plain of Magh Rath (Moira, co. Down) was of stone, and the Book of Leinster speaks of “four times three stone idols, of which there was adoration till the coming of Patrick.” For convent there are two native words; as if in the Druid organization, of which the first Christian teachers were careful to destroy every trace, something of the kind had existed. The word for chapel, too, *nemed*, is the Gallic *nemeton*; the other ecclesiastical words—*baislec*, *cell* or *kil*, *domnach*, *eclais* or *recles*, *tempul*—are borrowed, as, of course, is *saggarth*.

Such were the people on whom the English occupation (conquest it was not, and never aimed at being, till Tudor times) produced the degrading effect which such a mode of annexing a country invariably produces on people in the tribal state. Their development is checked, and they gradually revert to barbarism. Conquest, in the true sense of the word, is impossible, there being no central authority with which to deal. The Ard-righ (supreme king) might be utterly routed at Athenry; but the Munster clans and those of Ulster were not bound, therefore, to give in their allegiance to the victor. Sir H. Maine has some pregnant remarks on this. Had the invasion been delayed (he says) till the tribe which had almost gained permanent predominance had taken the position reached by Wessex at the end of the Heptarchy, how different would have been the after history of the two islands. It would have run parallel with that of Scotland instead of presenting such a sad contrast to it. Mr. Lecky (*History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii.) enlarges on this contrast and on its causes; and future historians will point to the like want of a supreme head (and therefore of cohesion) among the Maoris, and to our non-recognition of the position won for himself by the unfortunate Cetewayo, as the reason for the gradual disappearance of Maoris and the practical annihilation of Zulus. Now, it is necessary to insist on this point, that St. Patrick did not come to savages, because that great authority, Mr. Froude, says the Irish were savages whom the Normans civilized. To

the Gael he will grant nothing but “some musical power and a few grotesque saints.” This, then, is our first point, that, great as was the impulse given by the first preachers of Christianity, neither the wonderful skill (almost amounting to genius) displayed in the sixth and seventh century MSS.; in metal-work, like the bell-shrines, and bookcases, and croziers, and brooches; in sculpture, like that on the crosses and the “Irish Romanesque” churches; nor the success in literature, which made Ireland the University of the West, were wholly due to that impulse. Both in literature and in art no despicable beginning had already been made. Patrick and his followers found not only a receptive soil, but a soil already in tillage; not only a germ, but a plant strong enough for grafting. That a contrary view has been so widely held is accounted for by the degradation which speedily followed the invasion, and was due to its peculiar character. A native craftsman in Elizabeth’s time was as unable to imitate the bell-shrine of St. Culan, or the book-cover of St. Molaise, or the Ardagh chalice or Tara brooch, as the wandering friar, who alone kept religion alive among the persecuted masses, was to understand the Hebrew or Greek, which, extinct elsewhere in the West, was kept up in the tenth century Irish schools, or to execute a MS. like the Book of Kells, or to enter into the elaborate time-divisions (see the list in Stokes, *Introd. cliv.*) in use among his pagan forefathers. The poor hunted creature, “stealing out of the woods and glynnes,” and falling, *skean* in hand and mantle wrapped round his left arm, on some English outpost, was not more unlike the stately galloglass, with mail hauberk and saffron shirt, wielding his Danish axe, or the horseman charging with spear poised over his head, than the degenerate Anglo-Norman baron, who exaggerated the worst features of feudalism even more than his continental kinsmen had ever done, was unlike the chief chosen by the free voice of the clan, and bound to maintain its custom and to abide by the ruling of the Brehons. No wonder art decayed under such a state of things. Almost the last great piece of goldsmiths’ work is the Cross of Cong (A.D. 1123), made to enclose a piece of the true cross for Roderick O’Connor’s father. Roderick was the last king of all Ireland; after him there was no one to patronize such efforts, and, except a few

bookcases and shrines, none later than 1200. Irish art became confined to personal ornament. None of the wonderful series of sepulchral crosses at Clonmanois is as late as the thirteenth century. After that date, stone-carving degenerated faster even than metal-work. The exquisite details of some of the Clonmanois churches (date about 1167) contrast painfully with the poor work of the next century, except in buildings erected by foreign masons. "Seven years' fighting," says Jeremy Taylor, "sets a whole kingdom back in learning and virtue, it may be a whole age;" what must have been the result of incessant warfare of the most demoralizing kind, lasting, with scarcely a pause, from Strongbow's invasion till the end of the seventeenth century? *

It has even been argued, from the manifest inability of the Irish, when, in Elizabeth's day, the English began to look narrowly into their ways, to build or carve in stone, that not the round towers only, but the beautiful specimens of Irish Romanesque, were the work of "Cuthites," "Arkites," or other pre-Celtic inhabitants. Such an absurd theory would not be worthy of mention, but that it jumps so well with the scorn which Englishmen too often, and Anglo-Irishmen almost always, have lavished on "the native." That the ancestors of the poor creature whose unsatisfactory state is the outcome of Elizabeth's "Desolations of Munster," of James's Plantations, of Anne's Penal Laws, should have been able to rear structures which, from the faultless jointing of the masonry and the skill in choosing the stone are practically imperishable, was gall and wormwood to the "Ascendency."

For centuries "Pat" and rags have been associated in idea. Shakespeare, whose notions of the Irish were taken from men like Raleigh's followers, talks of "rough, rug-headed kerns." The figures of laymen on the Monasterboice crosses (the soldiers at the Crucifixion, for instance) are neither ragged nor rug-headed. They wear pointed caps, their beards and moustaches are elaborately trimmed, they are well dressed; and they doubtless are dressed as was the average Irish soldier A.D. 920.

* Illumination, practised in the monasteries, naturally held out the longest. The Book of Ballymote is early, the Lebhar breac (speckled book) very late in the fourteenth century; but they are far inferior to the ninth century work.

Miss Stokes's theory about the round towers is that they began to be built when the Danes began to be troublesome, as places of refuge and safety for sacred vessels, whence also a beacon fire might summon the neighbouring clans. Such, she thinks, was the origin of church towers all over Europe. The earliest were always round (she gives drawings of several—notably St. Maurice, Epinal—exactly like the Irish towers, but dwarfed by the lofty churches which were afterwards built up against them). She holds that they were "a reminiscence of the Eastern cylindrical pillar, due to an influx of Byzantine workmen," driven off by the iconoclast emperors; and she quotes from the life of St. Tenenan of Brittany, his advice "to build a little round tower near the church to protect its treasures against the barbarians" (p. 172). Her handbook should be studied by every intending visitor to Ireland; and those who read it cannot escape the conclusion that, though Irish art owed much to Syrian and Byzantine influence, it had advanced a long way on true art lines before it was at all influenced from outside.*

Always, no doubt, there was a tincture of savagery in Irish civilization. There certainly was in that of Greece (see Andrew Lang's *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*); is ours free from it? Are we sure our culture would survive a protracted agony which should destroy the high-born and wealthy as they were gradually destroyed in Ireland, and should give free scope to our "residuum"? The thing is to hold the mean between absurd pretensions and unfair depreciation, both of which have caused many heart-burnings; to put in no claim that cannot be maintained; to refuse no claim which can be substantiated. Some have said that the Irish owed even their alphabet to St. Patrick: and, of course, the fact that most of the words for writing materials and books are borrowed proves that writing was not in common use before his arrival. Dr. Todd, no mean authority, had, however, no doubt that, not only was writing

* The rapid growth of technical skill among Irish workers is most remarkable. The *Codex Rossanensis*, discovered eight years ago in South Italy, is a Byzantine *chef d'œuvre*, yet it is immeasurably inferior in point of execution to the Book of Kells or of Durrow. What an argument for technical schools among a people whose lace and other work proves that this skill has never been wholly lost!

(with the Ogham alphabet) in common use, but that there existed a pagan literature. Certainly many fragments imbedded in the "Brehon Laws" are pagan; but that they were written down, and not orally transmitted, is a different matter. Still, the most cautious Irish scholars are disposed to allow that the Irish before St. Patrick's day understood writing, though they may have used it only for inscriptions on pillar-stones and such like. Dr. Richey misunderstands St. Patrick's injunction that his noble and bardic converts (for he from the first employed a native ministry) should be taught the alphabet. This (as Mr. Whitley Stokes remarks, *Introd.* p. cliii.) almost certainly means, not the mere letters (such as are carved on the pillar-stone at Kilmakedar, near Sibyl Head, in Kerry, which inscription may have been bi-lingual to interpret the Ogham), but the *abgitir crabaith*, "alphabet of piety" (*initium fidei* in the Latin glossary). The question is still *sub judice*; but, as we know from the case of the old Greeks, a people may have gained considerable culture while their use of writing is exceedingly limited. There is no reason why the Roman alphabet should not have made its way to Ireland before the arrival of Patrick. Christianity undoubtedly did so. The annals mention the visit of Antus, a centurion, who (says legend) had witnessed the Crucifixion; and the constant visits of Roman traders, to which Ptolemy's Geography testifies, are not likely to have ceased with the Antonines. With the traders would come soldiers, and soldiers are often good missionaries; it was a few soldiers in a marching regiment who (says Stevens, *Hist. of Methodism*) founded at New York in 1765 that Methodist Society which is now the most powerful religious community in the New World.* The very terms of Pope Celestine's mandate to Palladius—*ad Scotos in Christum credentis*—proves that there were Christians in Ireland, and, if Christians, doubtless a knowledge of letters and culture, Byzantine rather than Italian, seeing it was from Southern Gaul that

* Roman coins, from the Republic to Honorius, have been found all along the north-east coast and as far inland as Coleraine; where, four years ago, a vast number were found, along with silver ingots. At Brayhead, forty years ago, a number of bodies were unearthed, lying side by side, each with the obolus (of Trajan or Hadrian) on its breast.—Prof. STOKES, p. 16.

the early missionaries came; and hence the numerous references (in Tirechan, &c.) to the *abgitoria* which Patrick *Scribat Episcopis suis, et litteras legebat* (*Tripartite*, p. 304), must be held to mean, as Ducange explains the word, *elementum cuiusque scientiae*—in this case “a primer of theology.”

About Patrick himself we need not add much to what we said, more than a year ago, when reviewing Prof. Stokes’s Lectures. Irish art and industry being in the air (having been for the first time in the history of the two nations represented in a special Exhibition in London), our aim is rather to characterize the people to whom he came. If our contention is right (and a visitor to the Dublin Museums, or even one who saw the meagre selection loaned to Olympia, must feel that we are right), two things follow—first, the Irish were, from the earliest, an artistic people; and therefore their genius (call it only tendency, if you will), long kept down by circumstances not very unlike those which well-nigh destroyed the artistic genius of the Greeks, deserves (will, in modern phrase, “pay for”) culture. The other fact should surely draw the hearts of the two nations together “as the heart of one man”—viz., the influence of early Irish on early English art. The lamented Mr. Haddan, Bishop Stubb’s co-worker in *Concilia*, &c., brought to the front the forgotten fact that quite three-fifths of this island owes its Christianity to Scotic (*i.e.*, Irish) missionaries. We are not speaking now of the influx of Irish Saints into Cornwall, and at least as far eastward as St. Decuman’s (between Glastonbury and Ireland there was regular intercourse from the middle of the fifth century), but of the army of preachers, Aidan, Begogh (St. Bee), Modwenna, &c., who pushed on almost to the Thames, the followers of Augustine (daunted by hardship and ill-success) not essaying a second time to cross that river. And those Irish missionaries and their successors brought in their distinctive style of art. Many Anglo-Saxon MSS. show unmistakable signs of Irish influence in their illuminations; and Mr. Romilly Allen’s valuable book enables us to trace, not only in Welsh but in English stonework—on crosses, especially in the north of England, and in churches, such as Deerhurst in Gloucester, hitherto supposed to be specimens of earliest

“Norman”—ornaments, which must have been due to Irish inspiration, if they were not the work of Irish hands. The Irish were actually helping us to decorate our memorial crosses, probably also to carve the tracery of the few stone churches reared by our “Saxon” forefathers, at the very time when young English princes were regularly sent over to Ireland to finish their education in Irish colleges like that of Clonard. Surely this is a link between two peoples, unhappily so long sundered in feeling, which at the present time should not be kept out of sight.* Our positions, then, are that the pagan Irish had a considerable amount of general culture and of special artistic skill, mixed with much savagery (and the two are by no means inconsistent); that this skill was developed into new forms by St. Patrick’s followers and those who came after them,† and that this “Scotic” art was carried over to the larger island by the succession of teachers, who, but for Oswiu’s weakness and Wilfrid’s dexterous management at the Synod of Whitby, would have kept the province of York at any rate in communion, not with Rome, but with Iona and Armagh. St. Patrick’s share in this development of Irish art is so important that, though in our paper of October 1887 we summarized the chief facts of his life, we feel bound to name a few other text-books in which that life may be more fully studied. Miss Cusack’s *Life* is, for the general reader, the most interesting; the English Romanists’ view is given by the Rev. W. B. Morris, priest of the Oratory, who is very wroth with the Bollandists for raising doubts about some of the miracles, and who has an easy triumph over Archbishop Ussher for rashly claiming the Saint as the precursor of Protestantism in Ireland. For scholars Mr. Whitley Stokes’s *Tripartite Life* is invaluable; while those who wish for a general view of the early Christian Church of Ireland, its

* Not inapposite are the touching words in the Epistle to Coroticus (*Tripartite*, p. 379): “Indignum est illis quod de Hibernia nati sumus: They make it a reproach that we were born in Ireland, though the Lord, in Malachi, says: ‘Have ye not one God? Why wrong ye each one his neighbour?’”

† His suite of twenty-four were all in holy orders, but followed also different crafts—three smiths, three artisans, three embroideresses (two of them his sisters), &c.

place and its work, could not do better than read the chapters on the subject in the severely impartial Dr. Richey. He seizes at once on the capital difference between Scotic and Continental Christianity—the latter was long confined to the towns and centres of thought and intelligence, the rustics were “ pagans ; ” the former, established in a country where towns were not, took the tribal form, the abbot being head of the spiritual clan ; while the ascetic tincture was due to Eastern influences, which came in from Southern Gaul. Whatever author is consulted for the Saint’s history (and the Rev. Mr. Shearman’s *Loca Patriciana* should be named as sure to delight the controversialist),* we hope our contention will not be forgotten—that, though the Irish gained immensely and profited rapidly by the teaching of the monkish artists, they were from the first an artistic people ; and that, if this innate love of art withered in modern times, it was because of the peculiar circumstances of the annexation, which are not to be laid to England as a fault—England was so busy with her French wars, that no other mode of occupation was possible for her. The fact is certainly not to be accounted for by stigmatizing the Irish nature as coarse and brutal.

English tourists are for various reasons beginning at last to visit the sister island. The notion that the tourist is not as safe in Connemara or Kerry as he is at our own lakes, or on the Rhine, is happily exploded. But those who go should understand beforehand that there are other things which make the country interesting besides scenery (matchless round Killarney ; rivalling, in the Donegal highlands, the best parts of Scotland, but confined to a few districts) and politics.

The chief monuments of early art are seldom found in connection with the finest scenery ; neither are those industries, which still try to live on amid a neglect from their own people even more galling than English ignorance of what (in the absence of special information) the English could scarcely know much about.

* A proof of the growing interest in this subject is that the Rev. R. Atkins, of Brewood, has just turned the Confessio and the Epistle to Coroticus into English blank verse.

Irish art has for centuries been unfashionable in Ireland, as have Irish antiquities, the Irish language, and everything connected with the native race. Some years back, M. Gaidoz, in the *Revue Celtique*, told how he, having come to Dublin to compare Gaelic with Breton, found himself sole audience at Prof. O'Donovan's Irish language lectures at T.C.D. He contrasted the zeal of little Servia in the study of old Servian literature with the utter indifference of Ireland.* Prof. G. T. Stokes remarks that the New Grange tumulus, "while visited by antiquarians from every land, is practically unknown to Irishmen, though within a two hours' drive of Dublin." Now that Irish arts, past and present, have been welcomed in London, Irishmen will be ashamed to act thus: and in this way the late Exhibition will have been a pledge that better things are in store—that the art, of which St. Patrick and his successors deftly fostered the already existent beginnings, will once again have scope, to the profit of two peoples more closely linked than they were in Anglo-Saxon days in the bands of true brotherhood.

ART. VI.—SAVONAROLA.

Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola. By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI. Translated by LINDA VILLARI. With Portraits and Illustrations. In two volumes. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888.

THIS is not the first translation of Professor Villari's Savonarola into English. More than twenty-five years ago, the late Mr. Leonard Homer translated the first edition. But his work has been long out of print; and the learned author of the original has studied the career of Savonarola so

* The late Sir S. Ferguson sadly complained of this indifference. Speaking to the present writer of the abundance of material in Irish legend, he said: "Those who would popularize it have to encounter, on the one hand, the scorn of a contemptuous West-Britonism; on the other, the distrust of those whose policy is to recognize nothing as national, which is not either pro-Roman or anti-English."

much more thoroughly, and accumulated such a mass of new information, that the present volumes are practically new, and a new translation had become necessary. Madame Villari has undertaken that translation, and has given us a version which, on the whole, must be pronounced wonderfully good and idiomatic. We say, "on the whole;" for her very first words proclaim her not to be English. She calls her brief preface, "The Translator's Foreword," which has a quaintly German look. Moreover, there is a curious use of the second personal pronoun in her rendering of the great Friar's sermons. "Ye" is employed in the objective case instead of "you"; and there are numerous instances of false concord, such as "Thou who hath." With these exceptions, her English is really good, and the style easy and flowing. The spirited publisher, too, has shown great taste in the general "get up" of the volumes. A beautiful and readable type, and illustrations in the best wood-graver's manner, almost entitle the book to be called an *édition de luxe*.

Girolamo Savonarola was of Paduan descent, and of noble or quasi-noble birth. Antonio Savonarola was renowned as a valiant and successful warrior in A.D. 1256. A century later, one branch of the family removed to Ferrara, on the invitation of Nicholas III., Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Ferrara, of the House of Este. Michele Savonarola, who became his attendant and physician, was learned, devout, and "very charitable towards the poor." He was Girolamo's grandfather, and "gave to him his tenderest care." The grandson was born in Ferrara on September 21, 1452, and was the third son of his parents. His eldest brother chose to be a soldier, and the second "devoted himself to the care of the paternal estate." Thus all intellectual hopes were centred in Girolamo, and it was "dreamed" that he might become "a great physician." Under his grandfather's tuition, he soon "showed a true passion for study;" but his venerable tutor died, and his father became his instructor in philosophy; that is, he set him to study Thomas Aquinas, and the Arabic commentaries on Aristotle. The works of the former inconceivably fascinated him, so that he could hardly be persuaded to attend to studies more befitting his medical education. Strange diet

indeed for a boy! No doubt it had a good deal to do with some of the anomalies of his character and career.

Little is known of his boyhood, beyond the facts just stated, except that he carefully studied the Scriptures, which had just begun to be printed and circulated in Latin. He became almost exclusively attached to sacred studies, and soon showed a marked aversion to the tone of the society around him, and contempt for the pompous displays and worldly grandeur then so much affected. Everything not only in Ferrara, but in Italy at large, outraged alike his tastes and his convictions. "Carelessness and corruption everywhere!" It was the time of the Italian Renaissance. Paganism had invaded the land—Paganism, not only in its refinement, but in its cruelty and lust, massacre and bloodshed, alternating with feasting and dancing, "chambering and wantonness," marked "the famous, splendid, jovial Court of the Este." But Savonarola led a sad and lonely life, and was marked for "his humble and dejected demeanour, his wasted form, his increasingly fervent devotion, the long hours he spent in church, and the frequency of his fasts."

There was none to guide him into the true path of spiritual rest and blessedness, and we have no trace of any process analogous to "conversion." But he was surely under the influence of divine grace, and of the good Spirit of God. Very early in life he gave utterance to his grief and apprehension in a series of canzoni, entitled *De Ruina Mundi*.

When about twenty years of age, he became the victim of a hopeless love. The illegitimate daughter of a Florentine exile, bearing the illustrious name of Strozzi, was the object of his passion; but, when he sought her hand, she haughtily replied that no Strozzi might stoop to an alliance with a Savonarola. The refusal crushed his heart, and destroyed his most cherished hopes; but he was led to more earnest prayer, and cried out, "Lord, make known to me the path my soul should tread!" He decided to forsake the world, and seek refuge in religion—which, alas! at that time meant to become a monk. His domestic affections were strong, and he durst not tell his parents, for fear of breaking their hearts and his own. But, on St. George's Day, April 24, 1474, while they

were gone to celebrate the fête of the saint, he fled from his home to Bologna, where he applied for, and obtained, admission into the Dominican monastery, in the character of the commonest convent drudge, to do the hardest and most menial work. He wrote to his father, explaining his conduct, and imploring the parental blessing. In this letter, he intimated his foresight of the woes coming upon his country, and declared that he was already endowed with a special mission relative thereto by God Himself. His biographer thus describes his person and appearance at this time:—

"He was of middle height, of dark complexion, of a sanguineo-bilious temperament, and most highly strung nervous system. His dark grey eyes were very bright, and often flashed beneath his black brows; he had an aquiline nose, and a large mouth. His thick lips were compressed in a manner denoting a stubborn firmness of purpose; his forehead, already marked with deep furrows, indicated a mind continually absorbed in meditation of serious things. But, although his countenance had no beauty of line, it expressed a severe nobility of character, while a certain melancholy smile endued his harsh features with so benevolent a charm as to inspire confidence at first sight. His manners were simple, if uncultured; his language rough and unadorned. But occasionally his homely words were animated by a potent fervour that convinced and subdued all his hearers" (vol. i. pp. 19, 20).

He began his monastic career with the most austere self-discipline, not only working like a slave, but macerating his body till he looked more like a spectre than a living man. Moreover, *mirabile dictu*, in a community of friars, he was scrupulously clean and neat. Thus, he not only evoked the wonder, but secured the reverent esteem of his superiors and fellows. He was still deeply afflicted at the condition of the outside world; and no wonder, for the perfidy and avarice of Pope Paul II., and the outrageous prodigality and profligacy of his successor, Sixtus IV., portended the most serious evils—evils which reached their climax in that monster of iniquity, Roderigo Borgia, Alexander VI. Savonarola was not alone in rightly interpreting these sinister omens; but he was singular in that he spoke of them and their results as a prophet inspired by God. War, rapine, and impurity soon ran riot. When Ferrara was threatened, Savonarola was despatched by his Superior, "either from economy, or as a measure of pre-

caution," to Florence, which was to be his lifelong battlefield, the scene of his labours and triumphs, and of his tragic, but not inglorious, martyrdom.

He entered the convent of St. Mark, established as a Dominican monastery, and lavishly subsidized by Cosmo de Medici the elder, who seems to have been in many respects a magnanimous and noble man. The convent was celebrated as a centre of erudition. It had been beautified at Cosmo's expense, by the incomparable frescoes of Fra Angelico along its walls, and was full of treasures of art and learning. But Savonarola found the brethren glorying chiefly in their spiritual founder and father, St. Antonine, "one of those characters who are the true glories of the human race." He had left such a reputation for sanctity and grace behind him, that, though he had now been dead for two-and-twenty years, "the cloister still seemed to be pervaded by his spirit." The young monk, seeing and hearing all this, charmed by the culture and refinement of the friars, the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and the soft Tuscan speech, was half-intoxicated with delight. But he had yet to reckon with the nature of the citizens, among whom he was to endure the most bitter trials of his life.

The city was at this time under the rule of Lorenzo de Medici, called "the Magnificent." This extraordinary man was the very impersonation of the Renaissance. The admirers of the Medicean family attribute the revival of literature and art chiefly to the efforts and influence of its members; but M. Villari shows that that revival began before their power was established, and for a long time owed nothing to their aid. They found it in existence, but had "the rare sagacity to make use of it, and turn it by their favour to their own profit." Lorenzo was the most astute of them all. Our author's account of him should be compared with the partial and exaggerated laudations of such men as our own Mr. Roscoe, whose *Life of Lorenzo*, though replete with learning and research, is altogether one-sided, and therefore untrustworthy. Here is M. Villari's statement:—

"Gifted by nature with a brilliant intellect, he had inherited from Cosmo a subtle astuteness, rendering him—although by no means a statesman of the

first order—very swift of resource, full of prudence and acumen, dexterous in his communications with other powers, still more dexterous in ridding himself of his enemies, and equally capable of daring and cruelty, whenever emergencies called for bold strokes. He was alike regardless of honesty and honour; respected no condition of men; went straight to his ends, trampling over all considerations, whether human or divine. The cruel sack of unfortunate Volterra; the robbery of the funds of the Monte delle Fanciulle, in consequence of which many dowerless girls fell into bad courses; and his rapacious appropriation of public property, are all stains that even his blindest worshippers are unable to ignore. His countenance was a true index to his character. It was a dark, sinister, perplexing face, with a flattened irregular nose, and a wide thin-lipped crooked mouth, suited to the accents of his nasal voice. But his eyes were lively and penetrating, his forehead lofty, and his manners marked by the most perfect finish of that cultured and elegant age" (vol. i. p. 44).

He undoubtedly won the unbounded affection of those whom he admitted to intimacy; but by his influence and example he taught and propagated a frivolity and love of pleasure that spread universal corruption, and favoured his designs upon the liberty of his fellow-citizens.

"What was most visible at the time was the general passion for pleasure, the pride of pagan learning, the increasingly sensual turn, both of art and literature, under the fostering hand of the man who was master of all Florence" (p. 45).

Well may our author protest against the fatuity of this man's admirers, and indignantly exclaim, "And all these sins are to be condoned in virtue of his patronage of letters and art!" The Medicean policy was that of the old Roman patricians; namely, to corrupt the popular mind by flattering its vanity, and pandering to its baser passions, in the interests of despotism, and for the aggrandisement of themselves and their own order. Into such a city came the devout, austere, pure-minded, liberty-loving monk from Ferrara. The first pleasant impression was rudely and sadly dissipated, and he found himself confronted with a state of society in which all religious and moral restraints seemed to be cast aside, and every godless and sinful indulgence gratified. The effect on his mind and character may be imagined; and we cannot wonder that he became—it was an absolute necessity that he

should become—the determined and inexorable enemy of the Medici. Without intending it, he was forced into conflict with the existing authorities, and with the purely pagan philosophy then in the ascendant. We need only to mention the subsequent history of the Medicean family, as exemplified by such pontiffs as Leo X. and such queens as Catherine de Medici, to show how fatal was their supremacy wherever it prevailed. If these rulers recall to our minds “Herod the Tetrarch,” Savonarola recalls the stern and awful monitor of the wilderness, John the Baptist.

Our author introduces to us several of the conspicuous members of Florentine society with whom Savonarola became acquainted, and by whose influence his views and character were more or less modified, such men especially as Ficino, the Platonic philosopher, and Politiano, a ripe scholar, and a most accomplished man. The Friar studied under Ficino, but by no means adopted his philosophy as a whole. How indeed could he do so, seeing that he was a devotee of Thomas Aquinas? Eventually he devised a philosophical scheme of his own, which his biographer labours to understand and explain. We do not think he succeeds, and we hardly see how he could, for Ficino’s philosophy was but pagan at the best, and would be as likely to mix with that of the angelical doctor as oil with water. We refer our readers to the biography itself, if they wish to see an exposition of Savonarola’s philosophy. But we must mention another acquaintance, who, though as unlike him as possible, became his sincere and devoted friend—namely, the young Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola. The story of the origin of this friendship is one of the most interesting in the book, but is too long for detail here. They first met at a chapter of the Dominican order held in Reggio d’Emilia, to which Savonarola had been sent by his Superior, and at which Pico was present as a noble and highly accomplished layman. The latter was strikingly handsome, and amiable and attractive in the highest degree. He seems to have been a prototype of such men as our own “admirable Crichton,” conversant, according to report, with some twenty languages, and versed in we know not how many sciences. Such was the estimate formed of him by the

members of the chapter throughout. Villari thinks that his "accomplishments" were more showy than substantial. Here, at any rate, he sat, "full of charm, sociable and buoyant," and here sat Savonarola, "full of gravity, lonely, severe, and almost harsh." So long as dogma only was under discussion, the Friar remained silent and uninterested; but when a question of discipline arose, he was suddenly fired, started to his feet, and thundered forth a terrible invective against the corruptions of the Church and the clergy. The effect was electrical. The moody recluse was revealed "to his audience as an extraordinary man of superior mental endowment." The young Count especially "was transported by his eloquence . . . and began to speak of him as a wonderful man, gifted with a mysterious moral force, and who, once known, could never be forgotten." They presently became united in a friendship equally honourable to both, and only to be terminated by death. But a more important result of this visit to Reggio was that it revealed Savonarola to himself. He returned to Florence, and resumed his monastic duties, but he could not keep his resolution to abandon the pulpit. His preaching efforts were at first rather disappointing; and he saw that, in spite of him, "Erudition and Paganism were more triumphant in the pulpit than ever." The friar of a rival monastic order held Florence by the ears. Politiano, an accomplished critic, refers with enthusiasm to his musical voice, chosen words, and grand sentences. But when Savonarola heard the encomium, his comment was, "These verbal elegances and ornaments will have to give way to sound doctrine simply preached." He set himself to realize this ideal, and "in prayer, contemplation, and ecstasy," awaited some direct revelation from God, for the accomplishment of the mission with which he believed himself to be endowed.

Sixtus IV. died in the same year (1484), and people hoped that a much better man might be chosen than one who had owed his election to simony and corruption, and had paraded his illegitimate offspring before the Church as his "nephews." But Innocent VIII. obtained the tiara by still more scandalous methods, and called his children "princes," openly acknow-

ledging them as his sons. Under him "the Roman Court became the headquarters of sensuality" and impure living. Even the demoralized people were roused to fury; and what must have been the effect on the mind of Savonarola? Now came that precious thing called "opportunity," which was to show mankind his true mettle. He was sent, as Lenten preacher, "to San Gemignano, among the Sienese hills." Even this small place was a "flourishing centre of artistic and political life." But its citizens had not lost their simplicity "by over-study and sophistry," and here, accordingly, the Friar could raise his voice more freely, and with greater effect. Here he expounded the ideas which had so long filled his soul; "here he pronounced the words which were to become his war-cry and the standard of his whole life—namely, first, that the Church will be scourged; secondly, that it will be regenerated; and thirdly, that all this will come to pass quickly." He supported these ideas "on natural reason and the authority of the Bible." He had now found his true vocation, and returned to Florence calmer, more confident in himself, and with a prudence and caution acquired in the school of experience. In the Lent season of 1486 he was sent to preach in Lombardy, and especially in Brescia. He took the book of the Revelation for his theme, and in tones of thunder rebuked the people for their sins, "denounced the whole of Italy," and prophesied woes unspeakable. The calamities to fall on Brescia were predicted in detail, and the people were powerfully called to repentance. We shall presently refer more particularly to his "prophecies." But these Lenten sermons "made him known to all Italy, and decided the course of his life." His own spiritual experience also was deepened; he became more ardent in prayer, mighty in faith, and exalted in devotion.

In the meantime, Pico de Mirandola, one of whose besetting sins was vanity, had incurred the censure of the Roman Court by a work on philosophy and religion. Enraged and disappointed, he felt the need of sound and independent counsel; and, remembering the friar who had so effectively spoken at Reggio against clerical corruption, he successfully entreated Lorenzo to procure his recall to Florence; and so

once more the foe of the Medici and the destined destroyer of their power appeared in that city. He gave himself to his monastic duties; but the circumstances of his recall and Pico's interest in him soon transpired; and gradually a crowd of influential laymen gathered around him. His lectures were almost unconsciously transformed into sermons. Yielding to earnest pressure, he appeared before a vast and crowded audience on August 1, 1489, and resumed in a larger sphere his exposition of the *Apocalypse*. He was heard with astonishment and rapture. In a moment the audience was raised to a transport of ecstasy by his intellectual might and enthusiasm, and his voice resounded with an almost supernatural effect. His fame as a great preacher—the greatest that Florence had ever known—was at once established. There were many, however, who regarded him as an ignorant visionary and presumptuous fanatic. But he held to his purpose, and so became committed to a struggle which never ceased or was abated till his death.

We must pass over M. Villari's account of Savonarola's publications at the time, with one exception, of certain rules for the interpretation of the Bible. We are presented with a table of the Friar's methods, derived from his own autograph notes. It contains no less than five kinds of interpretation—the Literal, the Spiritual, the Allegorical as applied both to the Old Testament and the New, the Moral, and the Anagogical, the last denoting the relation of the Bible to the life to come. Examples of all these methods are found in the very numerous extracts from the Friar's sermons; and we note that undoubtedly he had a special liking for the allegorical method. In spite, perhaps in consequence, of his fearless and denunciatory eloquence, he was invited by the Signory to the palace, and preached before that illustrious body a discourse, in which he boldly set forth Lorenzo's special responsibilities, and inveighed against the wickedness of tyrannical governors. "The Magnificent" was enraged at the preacher's audacity; but his own conventional order were so impressed that he was elected Prior of St. Mark's, which gave him freedom and independence. His first use of his new position was to refuse to "pay his respects, and, as it were, to do homage to the

Magnificent," an abuse which had recently grown up. Savonarola considered that his election was due to God alone ; " and to Him alone," he declared, " will I vow obedience." Then Lorenzo vainly tried to conciliate him by various attentions. Indeed, the Friar seems to have been somewhat wanting in the courtesy due to the chief magistrate. On Ascension Day, the celebrated Mariano preached against Savonarola from Acts i. 7. His attack was so fierce and scurrilous as to disgust every hearer, even Lorenzo himself, who was present, and had the mortification of witnessing a hoped-for defeat " turned into a signal triumph " for Savonarola. He made no further attempt to interfere with him ; and the denunciations went on more impetuously and terribly than ever ; the preacher, however, manifesting a spirit of genuine tenderness and pity, which showed at once his own piety, and the beneficent aim and purpose of his most awful diatribes.

But all this while " the Magnificent " was wasting away under an incurable disease ; and, by the beginning of the following April, his recovery was pronounced hopeless. In his last illness, he reaped the bitter harvest of the sin which he had so plentifully sown. Haunted by remorse and dread, and having lost all faith in mankind, he could not even give his confessor credit for sincerity ; and so the poor consolations which Rome provides for dying sinners were of no avail. At last he remembered the " honest friar " who had never flattered him, and expressed a wish to confess to Savonarola. The latter could hardly believe his ears when the dying man's request was made known to him ; but, on being assured of his extremity and earnest desire, " set forth without delay." When Savonarola reached the bed on which Lorenzo was lying, the latter told him that " there were three sins on his conscience which he was specially anxious to confess in order to be absolved from them." This was preliminary to anything that might be uttered under the *seal* of confession. The sins were the sack of Volterra, the robbery of the Monte previously named, and " the bloody reprisals following the conspiracy of the Pazzi." The Friar tried to calm him, and spoke tenderly of the Divine mercy ;

but at the same time insisted on the restitution of his ill-gotten wealth, or at any rate making arrangements for such restitution. After some hesitation Lorenzo expressed by a nod his readiness to comply. M. Villari shall tell us the rest:—

"Savonarola then stood up; and, whereas, the dying prince lay cowering in fear in his bed, seemed to soar above his real stature as he said, 'Lastly, you must restore liberty to Florence.' His face was solemn, his voice almost terrible; his eyes, as if seeking to divine the answer, were intently fixed on those of Lorenzo, who, collecting all his remaining strength, angrily turned his back on him without uttering a word. Accordingly, Savonarola left his presence without granting him absolution, and without having received any actual and detailed confession. The Magnificent remained torn by remorse, and soon after breathed his last, on April 8, 1492" (vol. i. pp. 148-9).

This account is confirmed by a copious and lengthened note at the end of the chapter. In that note will be found the author's vindication of his use of authorities; and it seems to us conclusive, in spite of the challenge which it has evoked in some quarters. Roscoe's version of the interview is careless, superficial, and incomplete; as it could hardly fail to be, since he had attempted to transfer the responsibility for Volterra from Lorenzo's shoulders. The dying prince's conscience, however, spoke otherwise. And we must especially note that no "confession," in the technical Romish sense, was made at all.

Even Dr. Punshon, in his noble lecture on "Florence and some Notable Florentines," incorrectly states that the Magnificent "confessed to Savonarola." The Friar's boldness, and the Prince's obstinacy, as Savonarola considered it, prevented any such detailed "confession," as Rome interprets that word.

This seems to be the proper place to say something of the alleged "prophetic gifts" of Savonarola. "Predictions" first became prominent in his Brescia sermons. The subject is far too large for full discussion here. Those who wish to see it exhaustively treated may study the elaborate and deeply interesting chapter, in Dr. Rule's *Savonarola*, on the question, "Is there a gift of prophecy?" He proves that our Friar, at all events, was no prophet, in the usually understood sense of that word. But, in the first place, the Romish

Church, if it did not inculcate, never did anything to disown the notion that prophetic inspiration still remained in the Church. Thomas Aquinas, whose devoted disciple the Friar undoubtedly was, explicitly teaches that "*the gift of prophecy is sometimes given to a man*, both for the benefit of others and for the enlightening of his own mind ; and these are they into whose soul the Divine wisdom, transferring itself, by the communication of grace, constitutes the friends of God, and prophets." Such teaching would naturally lead earnest, imaginative, and susceptible disciples like Savonarola, especially with surroundings such as his, to expect it. Secondly, though a most devout and attentive student of Holy Scripture, Savonarola seems to have specially directed his attention to the Old Testament, and to have become saturated with the notion of an avenging and punitive Providence, especially as displayed against the sins of God's ancient people, and the nations around them ; and so he failed to perceive clearly and fully the mercy which is the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity. He knew not the power of true evangelical Christianity. He had not witnessed its influences on society ; neither had he "apprehended the Gospel itself divested of errors which nullify its power." Thirdly, it is evident, from his own singular disquisitions on the prophetic gift, and from the curious tests and cautions to which he would subject it, as well as from the general state of opinion, that prophetic visions and utterances were considered as "but ideal, merely the garb and vehicle" of the thing really taught ; and moreover Savonarola himself "declared that his most striking 'revelations' were nothing more." Fourthly, the presages and presentiments uttered by him were precisely such as all earnest and enlightened men, looking at the prevailing evils, and at the ordinary course of God's providential government, could not fail to cherish ; as the language of all great religious reformers and revivalists abundantly shows. There is convincing proof of Savonarola's honesty and piety ; and that must count for much, and avail to shield him from the imputation of intentional imposture. He believed but too earnestly that he saw the sword of doom hanging over Italy and Christendom ; and the state of mental exaltation and

excitement to which he was specially liable, and which was fostered by his prodigious labours, and his melancholy fastings, watchings, and broodings, will go far to account for the form which his *vaticinations* took.

Here, too, we may devote a few words to the famous "revelation" afterwards announced by him: how he had been taken to Paradise, and had a long interview with the Virgin Mary, whose favour he solicited on behalf of his beloved Florence. He spoke of this visit as if it were literally true; and, though he might not expect any but the uneducated to take it literally, he must have known that the multitude would so regard it. It is difficult to avoid the inference that he purposely imposed upon their credulity. But if so, he could quote unnumbered instances in which the "saints" of his own Church had set himself the example. But it is every way deplorable; the more especially as the details supply an instance of as gross and Christ-dishonouring Mariolatry as can anywhere be found.

George Eliot's story of *Romola* opens with the period of Lorenzo's death. It is most interesting to study the impression which the character and utterances of the "Frate" made upon this gifted writer. If *Romola* be her heroine, Savonarola is certainly her hero, and she has formed a conception of the man far truer to fact than that of any of the indiscriminate admirers and worshippers of the Medici. Her Florence is the very Florence of the period; she has caught and rendered "the very form and body of the time." The topography, the architecture, the public characters, the feasts and shows of the Republic, the humours of the people, the gossip of the shops and streets, the strife of municipal parties—all, in fact, that constituted Florentine life at the end of the fifteenth century, are reflected in her pages with marvellous accuracy, and suffused with the glow and glamour of living human passion. And her warm, reverent, and sympathizing appreciation of the great "Frate" is an invaluable testimony to his exceeding worth. We have diligently compared the imaginary story with the real and historic one, and do not hesitate to say that the Savonarola of the novel is the very man as history reports him. She puts into his mouth a

sermon which is the very ideal of his best pulpit utterances. She represents, in her story of his intercourse with Romola, the greatness and wholesomeness of his private influence—the magnetic charm of his presence and discourse. We can only allude to the scene of his interview and conversation when abruptly arresting her flight from her worthless and treacherous husband. How noble are the sentiments, and how magnetic their power, by which he recalled her to wifely duty, though that might mean lifelong suffering! Nothing can be finer or truer, nothing more characteristic of his nature and his power.

But to return to our narrative. Lorenzo was succeeded by his eldest son Piero, who was in almost all respects vastly the inferior of his accomplished father. Handsome, robust, a rough athlete, unrefined, uncouth, sensual, outrageously passionate, and wholly neglectful of public affairs—such was the new ruler of Florence as represented by our biographer. He contrived to disgust and alienate the Italian princes, and to incur the bitter hatred of his fellow-citizens—even of some of the staunchest adherents of the Medicean family. “A presentiment of coming change was already in the air,” and the desire for it grew with the growing proofs of the incapacity and selfishness of Piero. Savonarola’s popularity increased as that of Piero diminished; and it was remembered how he had “once predicted the approaching death of Lorenzo, the Pope, and the Neapolitan King.” The first “prediction” had been fulfilled, and just now the second was on the very eve of fulfilment. Innocent VIII., the scandalous Pontiff, was lying in a state of lethargy, his vital powers exhausted. An attempt was made to revive him by the transfusion of new and youthful blood into his veins. Three boys fell victims to this absurd and cruel experiment; the Jewish doctor who had ordered and superintended the operation fled for his life; and the Pope expired on July 22, 1492. Then was seen another and still more infamous Papal election. Roderigo Borgia openly trafficked for the possession of the Holy See, the Romans discussing “the details of their bargain as though it were all in the natural course of things.” He succeeded, and assumed the title of Alexander VI. Under

that title history has handed him down to everlasting infamy. His greed for gold was insatiable. He was a proverb of the most unblushing licentiousness. It is enough to mention the names of Vanossa, his mistress, the daughter of his own previous mistress, and of Lucrezia, that mistress's daughter by himself. This man now sat in St. Peter's Chair, and posed as the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth! Christendom was scandalized, and all Italy, in its amazement and horror, turned towards Savonarola; the more so, as the King of Naples was in the last stage of decrepitude. The Frate became more denunciatory and impassioned than ever, and his "visions" were multiplied. He saw "in the middle of the sky a hand bearing a sword, upon which were inscribed these words: *Gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter.*" The author presents a *facsimile* of a medal struck to commemorate this vision. Other similar "revelations" followed. Piero de Medici was so annoyed by his invectives, that he procured his removal to Bologna, then under the rule of Bentivoglio. Here he gave huge offence and incurred imminent peril of his life by his bold and indignant reproof of Bentivoglio's wife, who had again and again openly insulted him in church. She tried to procure his assassination, but his calmness, firmness, and address overawed the wretches hired to destroy him, and he returned in the most open way to Florence.

He found the city more troubled and excited than when he left, and, being apprehensive of another decree of banishment, he set himself—and, strange to say, was helped by Piero—to secure the complete independence of St. Mark's; and, by help of the Cardinal of Naples—who cleverly outwitted the Pope in this instance—procured a brief, withdrawing his monastery from the Lombardian jurisdiction, and creating it the head and centre of a congregation to be subject only to Rome and the Superior of the Dominican Order, an event which completely secured his independence, and was fraught with momentous consequences both to himself and to Florence. He became more outspoken than ever, and his "predictions" assumed a more definite and threatening tone. The effect was extraordinary. It was just before the invasion of Italy

by Charles VIII. of France ; and the people were so terrified by the Friar's resounding voice, as he thundered out the words, “*Ecce ego adducam aquas per terram*,” and by the alarms, cries, and lamentations in which he indulged, “that every one went about the city bewildered, speechless, and as it were half dead.” When the news came that “a flood of foreign soldiery was pouring down from the Alps to the conquest of Italy,” the people, losing all confidence in rulers, statesmen, and soldiers, flocked to the Duomo to hear again and again the only man who had foreseen the disaster, or could know and apply the remedy. “The whole population applied to him ; the most influential of the citizens sought his advice ; and, as if by magic, his followers became masters of the town.”

We have neither space nor need to dwell on the occasion, motives, and issues of this French invasion. The most important thing for Florence was that the cowardice, vacillation, and bad faith of Piero de Medici, in his relations with the French, filled up the measure of his political iniquities in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and led to his formal deposition and the banishment of the Medici from the city. The French occupied Florence for a while ; but, though received as friends, their outrageous conduct speedily roused the anger and disgust of the citizens, who never rested till they had got rid of them. Then came the question, “What, in the absence of regular government, and in the midst of so many perils, were the citizens to do ?” Various and very contradictory schemes were discussed. The policy of the Medici had effectually destroyed the old franchises, and rendered every attempt to establish matters upon the ancient foundations of the commonwealth nugatory. Scheme after scheme was stormily discussed, and then abandoned. Meantime there was the Friar, more excited and eloquent than ever. He now began to preach politics, all Florence hanging on his lips. He insisted, with great emphasis, that the solution of the problem lay with the people themselves ; and, above all, that they must prepare for action by reforming their own lives, and cultivating the spirit of piety and charity. In spite of his earnestness on this point —perhaps because of it—his popularity appeared to decline.

He looked around him, and " beheld a whole people bewildered, desolate, in need of help, and with no confidence in one another." It was then that " he rose above himself." He became conscious that he had the power " to soothe discord, and direct men's minds towards religion and liberty;" and he began to propound his views more explicitly. The people, he said, must submit the question of good government to God, must " purify their hearts, rectify their aims, condemn gambling, sensuality, and blasphemy;" and then frame their government on the principle " that no man may receive any benefit save by the will of the whole people, who must have the sole right of creating magistrates and enacting laws." In one aspect this was democratic in the extreme; in another it was theocratic. He would have a democracy founded on the return of the whole community to pure and virtuous living. *We* see how Utopian this was at such a time; but he and his contemporaries did not see that; and his biographer expatiates upon " the masterly prudence and wisdom shown by Savonarola in all the fundamental laws he proposed for the new State, and how the whole people became so inspired and penetrated by his influence that every one seemed to share his ideas and echo his speech." He was, however, treading on ground dangerous both for himself and for Florence. For himself, because he soon began to talk of the sword, and civil penalties, and that in a tone which even his biographer admits to have been unworthy of a messenger of peace. For Florence, because it was an attempt to build a kingdom of God on perishable and combustible " wood, hay, stubble." Yet it was his noble aim to bring about among all classes of society a thorough *personal* reformation. And, though he continued to interlard his discourses too profusely with his visions and prophecies, he seemed to gain, for the time, an all but miraculous success.

" The aspect of the city was completely changed. The women threw aside their jewels and finery, dressed plainly, bore themselves demurely; licentious young Florentines were transformed, as by magic, into sober, religious men; pious hymns took the place of Lorenzo's carnival songs. The townsfolk passed their leisure hours quietly in their shops, reading either the Bible or Savonarola's works. All prayed frequently, flocked to the churches, and gave largely to the poor. Most wonderful of all, bankers and tradesmen were

impelled by scruples of conscience to restore ill-gotten gains, amounting to many thousand florins. All men were wonder-struck by this singular and almost miraculous change; and, notwithstanding his shattered health, Savonarola must have been deeply rejoiced to see his people converted to a Christian mode of life" (vol. i. p. 343).

Here, then, we see our Friar at the zenith of his fame and power. He was in truth the first citizen of the Florentine Republic. Yet, all the while, he was most punctilious in the discharge of his monastic duties; had pandered to no vices; had kept for himself and his charge the vow of poverty; and had been the steady foe of corruption and venality, whether in high or low places; and all contemporary writers, including those who most disliked himself and his methods, "express their wonder, their triumph, or their regret at the result." But such as it was all acknowledge it, and agree in saying that "it was solely the work of Girolamo Savonarola."

But his fortunes had reached their climax. Henceforward his star began to wane; and the remainder of his story is one of deadly conflict, disappointment, and failure. No doubt this was partly due to the Friar's own indiscretions and mistakes; but chiefly to those whose interests were imperilled or their tastes and passions outraged by his wonderful success. He soon became aware that combinations against him were multiplying. The friends of the Medici, very many of whom even now were found in Florence, never ceased to plot against him, hoping to bring back their patrons into power. All the profligate of the city, and especially the wealthy young aristocrats, detested him for his private and public purity; and, though they hated the Medici much, they hated the Frate infinitely more, and were ready to join in any conspiracy for his overthrow. They called themselves the *Arrabbiati*, or Madmen, and represented the wickedness and impurity of the citizens. The Pope had also a party of zealous adherents, ready to go to any lengths in destroying one who had not feared to denounce their Master—the incestuous and murderous Borgia. Savonarola soon saw what it all meant, and whether it tended; but he was ready to die for truth and purity, and he would not swerve a hair's-breadth from the course which judgment and conscience dictated to him. Practically the population

were divided into two factions—on the one hand, the Arrabbiati, Medicean, and Papal elements ; and on the other, the Friar's adherents, called by their opponents Piagnoni, or “snivellers,” or mourners. At present these were the more numerous and powerful ; indeed, they were the ruling element in Florentine life. Piero was incessantly plotting and intriguing for reinstatement in power. But even the Arrabbiati violently opposed that policy. In the end, a decree of proscription against Piero as a rebel was promulgated, and a price set on his head. The quarrel with the Pope went on and became aggravated—it now becoming clear that in Rome the Friar's offences were political. Effort after effort was made to convict him of false doctrine ; but the very authorities who revised his works with a view to the Papal censure could find no heresy whatever ; and on that line he triumphed over his vilest and least scrupulous opponent. That opponent summoned him to Rome, with what purpose it is easy to conjecture ; but Savonarola was on his guard, and, in terms very respectful and cautious, declined the invitation. Presently the Pope changed his tactics ; withdrew his censures ; permitted him to preach ; and, as the climax of the comedy, actually offered him a cardinal's hat ! But the bait was not swallowed, and the Friar announced from the pulpit that he would tell the Pope “what he thought of him,” which he did. The crafty Pontiff, however, now managed to shift the ground, and put the Friar—the pugnacious and aggressive Friar—on the defensive, an achievement of the Holy Father which prepared the way for the Friar's final defeat.

We next find Savonarola busy among the children and young people. He would try to enlist them on the side of virtue and order. The Carnival of 1496 was impending. It had long been customary for the young to take an imposing part in the shows and revellings of the Carnival. They were in the habit of exacting “tolls” from residents and visitors, by which means a considerable sum was obtained, to be spent in nocturnal revelry and dissipation. The orgies on these occasions were frightful ; and blood flowed, and life was sacrificed among these young sinners. Savonarola managed to prepare for the celebration of the coming Carnival

after a very different fashion. The children were organized into bands, who traversed the city making collections in a decent and orderly way ; and the total proceeds were to be spent in deeds of piety and charity. The first Carnival conducted in this manner was so successful that it was repeated in the following year. The children were set to begging, not only money, but costly garments, jewels, and all sorts of female and male finery. The spoils were arranged in a mighty pile in the principal square ; and, at a given signal, the pile was suddenly ignited, and the mountain of jewellery consumed. This was called the " Burning of the Vanities." Archdeacon Fárrar traces a fanciful resemblance to the burning of the books and magical symbols at Ephesus. But the resemblance is purely superficial, whereas the difference between the two occasions was radical and essential. This incident of the " Burning of the Vanities " is excellently set forth in *Romola*. All the humour—all the fun and all the pathos—of the scene is reflected in George Eliot's story. But it was a foolish and a useless affair. D'Aubigné, in his history of the European Reformation in the time of Calvin, has a remark which strikingly illustrates the folly and inadequacy of such methods of reformation. Referring to the first efforts of the Genevan Huguenots, he says : " When we wish to reform a vicious man, it is not enough to take off his filthy clothes and wash the dirt from his face ; his will must be transformed. At Wittenberg the Reformation began, in the person of Luther, with the internal ; at Geneva it began, in the Huguenots, with the external." Here was the weak spot in our Friar's methods. Like the Genevan Huguenots, he seems to have been " struck rather with the superstitions of Rome than with his own sins, and the grace of God." So, at any rate, this " Burning of the Vanities " seems to show. It was all surface work so far as it was reformatory. The Friar had not learnt that a change in manners and methods is a very different thing indeed from the regeneration of the heart by God's Holy Spirit.

We do not attempt to deal with the form of government adopted at Savonarola's instigation ; partly, because it would

hardly interest many of our readers to dwell on such topics ; and partly, because it is almost impossible to compress the "constitution" within any reasonable limits. It is discussed at length by M. Villari, and seems to us to have been contrived as if to nurse the all-devouring spirit of faction so rampant in Florence. Its numerous municipal tribunals and officials, with their election at intervals of a few weeks or months, left an open field for the play of intrigue and selfishness, and hindered altogether the formation of a sound and steady policy of any kind. But we must pass that by, simply saying that, in 1496-7, the Arrabbiati secured a majority of representatives in "the Signory," and immediately put in practice their long-arranged plans for the destruction of Savonarola. They lost no time and spared no pains to consolidate and extend their power. The Friar at the same time became more and more complicated with the Pope, whose utmost wrath was aroused against him. And just at this point a Franciscan friar openly challenged him to put his claims to the test of ordeal by fire. He would have unhesitatingly and contemptuously declined that superstitious and barbarian method of controversy ; but, unfortunately, he had spoken and preached in such a manner that people were led to expect a miracle in his behalf. He would not respond in his own person : but a member of the community of St. Mark's, one Fra Benedetto, volunteered to represent him. A day was fixed, and the solemn farce duly prepared for. A vast audience gathered, and Benedetto made his appearance for the purpose of walking through the fire. But it soon became evident that the Franciscan was not in earnest. After a day spent in useless going to and fro, and protocolling, a heavy rain set in, and the mighty throng gloomily and angrily dispersed. The whole thing was a fiasco. Savonarola and his friends managed to reach the convent, but the mob followed them with insults. The convent was besieged, and in a few hours the Friar was captured and speedily committed to prison. Then follows the story of his mock trial, for such it was. His death was a foregone conclusion. He was put again and again to the torture. His sensitive and shattered frame was cruelly wrecked,

and, like many another victim of Romish bigotry, he probably made some compromising confessions. But we are at liberty to reject the document containing these, more especially as it was annotated, manipulated, and travestied by one Cecconi, who offered his services for the purpose, and was accepted by the Signory. Nowadays no one considers a confession so extorted to be worth anything ; but even when every artifice had been employed, a case could not be made out against him. His doom, however, was sealed and pronounced on other grounds than those of truth or justice. He was in the hands of foes who feared and detested him ; in a few days he and two brethren were hung in the public square, their bodies burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Arno.

The closing events of this strange story entailed lasting infamy on the city and the people he had loved and served so well ; they deepen, if that be possible, the horror attaching to the name of Alexander VI. ; they have left no abiding blot upon Savonarola's name. Most of his mistakes were the direct or indirect result of Romish teaching and training. His Romish detractors, especially, should be silent about his visions and revelations ; for when has "the Church" scrupled to encourage and profit by such things among her most lauded " saints "? From the wood of the true cross, the "visions" of Loyola, the Holy Coat of Treves, and so on, down to the apparition of our Lady of Lourdes at this very day, such visions have been part of her stock-in-trade ; and Savonarola was a true son of the Church. He tried to set up a kingdom of God on earth, but his conception of that kingdom, and of the true methods of propagating it, was always erroneous. Had our Friar been born a few years later, had he come into contact with the influences that wrought upon the German, French, and English reformers, how different would have been his life-record ! It was hardly worth M. Villari's while to try to convince his readers that Savonarola was no Protestant ; and he has been very unfortunate in the line of proof adopted by him. The Friar hardly even deserves to be reckoned in the great brotherhood of Reformers before the Reformation.

If he had any share in bringing about that glorious event, it was small indeed, and wholly without his purpose or consciousness. Nevertheless he was as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord!" Strict Romanist though he was, he was, according to his light, a pure and noble reformer, a true patriot and a devoted servant of God—a burning "and a shining witness" to His living power and righteousness.

[NOTE.—We give M. Villari's account of Lucrezia Borgia. He adheres to it, after fully considering what has been written on the other side.]

ART. VII.—EARLY ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY.

1. *The Economic Interpretation of History.* By J. E. THOROLD ROGERS. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888.
2. *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory.* By W. J. ASHLEY, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1888.

THE present enthusiasm for historical research is one of the healthiest signs of the times. A large and accurate knowledge of the past is indispensable to a thorough understanding of the present, and can hardly fail to be fruitful in guidance for the future. If history be "philosophy teaching by examples," we cannot "have too much of history," especially if it is studied, as in a democratic age it is pretty certain to be studied, not merely to gratify the curiosity, but with a view to tracing the effects of institutions and of forces on the character and condition of the people. For some time past, the historical method has been applied by a numerous and influential school of publicists on the Continent to the study and teaching of political economy. Adopting as their instrument that specialized form of induction known as comparison, especially the comparison of what J. S. Mill so aptly designated "social series," they seek not only to explain the action of special local or temporary conditions of economic phenomena, but also, by comparing the various stages of the

evolution of society in different countries and at different times, to discover the fundamental principles and the universal laws of economic life. Of every economic institution, in particular, and of every form of economic activity, they inquire, not merely what is its existing condition, but what were its earliest discoverable germs, and what has been the course of its development. In our own country this stupendous task has not as yet attracted many labourers. Professor Rogers, like a

"weary Titan,
Bearing on shoulders immense,
Atlantēan, the load,
Well-nigh not to be borne,
Of the too vast orb of his fate,"

complains with justice that, while many writers, often without acknowledgment, have profited by his most laborious researches into English economic life, so few have had the courage and the generosity to share his toil. The harvest to be reaped is plenteous, and the labourers are few; but lately they have been increasing, and are pretty sure to multiply as current controversies on industrial and social questions show more fully the necessity of tracing present evils and anomalies to their roots and sources in the past. Nor need Professor Rogers yet despair that in his *alma mater* men will rise to emulate his zeal and industry—men who may reach results as fruitful, if not so original as his, and who, like Freeman, Stubbs, and Gardiner, in cognate branches of research, shall add new fame and splendour to her ancient name.

Professor Rogers is not one of those unhappy wights who, as Hegel once regretted, had been condemned by a divine judgment to be philosophers. He is an erudite economist who has condemned himself to toil for half a lifetime amid the hitherto neglected records of our social and industrial life. He is, moreover, a most interesting personage, and we need not be surprised to learn that when the lectures published in the volume named above were given at Oxford, "they were very numerously attended." They remind us of what Cromwell called the English land laws, "an ungodly jumble"—rambling, ill-arranged, and carelessly composed. But they are lively,

entertaining, and instructive in a high degree. Only dulness could pronounce them dull. The author's flings at kings and nobles and ecclesiastics, dead and living, at philosophical historians and metaphysical economists, at Tory landlords and imperial statesmen, if somewhat distracting, are exceedingly diverting; they give relief and colour to what might easily have been the dreariest wastes, and add piquancy to almost every page. Much of the matter is irrelevant and not much of it is new. To be quite accurate we should have to describe the book as a *réchauffé* of a *réchauffé* of a *réchauffé*, most of the information contained in it having already done service in the lecturer's *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, and this to some extent having been a reproduction of his previous monumental work on *Agriculture and Prices*. The title of the volume also is misleading. It is not a treatise, as we might expect, and as we could have wished, on the economic interpretation of history as a whole, but, amongst a multitude of other things, a series of remarks on certain turning-points in English history regarded from an economic point of view.

Widely different in tone and taste, in style and method and fidelity to title, is the other volume on our list. Its accomplished author is an Oxford Fellow who at present occupies the chair of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, and the substance of the work before us probably was first used in the course of his professorial duties. If so, the students are to be envied who were introduced to the study of English economic history by a teacher able to convey such wealth of information in so clear, concise, and portable a way. Like every other labourer in this fruitful field, Professor Ashley is indebted to Professor Rogers for opening up the path and for the first fruits of his patient toil, but his little book shows many signs of independent husbandry. For our immediate purpose Mr. Ashley's volume has the additional advantage of clearly marking out and carefully exploring the ground to which the present paper must be limited. On future occasions we hope to have the assistance of both authors in extending our survey to more recent and more stirring times.

For many reasons it would be desirable to call up before our minds the rural and the urban economy of England in

pre-Norman times; but this unhappily is quite impossible. The records from which most of our information is derived only begin to be abundant in the reign of Henry III. The consequence is that the most vital of all questions in early English economy is still in dispute. A sort of literary Franco-German war is now being waged as to whether our social history begins with a population of freemen or a population of serfs. Most modern German historians have contended for the freeman theory; but recently a brilliant band of Frenchmen, led by M. Fustel de Coulanges,* have assailed this position. They have shown how scanty and ambiguous is the evidence on which the German theory is built, and maintain that the primitive free mark community is a figment of the Teutonic brain. Our own Mr. Seebohm, in his *English Village Community* (1883), attempts to prove that "English economic history begins with the serfdom of the masses of the rural population under Saxon rule—a serfdom from which it has taken a thousand years to set them free." Each of these hypotheses is beset with difficulties, and it is beside our purpose to enter into the arguments on either side. A lucid statement of the *pros* and *cons* will be found in Mr. Ashley's opening chapter. Our aim will be to describe as far as possible the economic relations and activities of the various classes of the people from the Norman Conquest to the Plague in 1349.

If the Conqueror, after making the acquaintance of his English subjects, had ventured on a generalization, he would not, like Napoleon, have described them as a nation of shopkeepers; he would have been more likely to describe them as a nation of farmers. After the Conquest the soil of England was distributed among the great feudal lords and churchmen and the vassals of each of them; and under them were the various classes of the peasantry by whom the land was farmed. In Domesday Book (1086) only about eighty towns are mentioned, and most of these were very small. They were distinguished from the villages by the earthen walls that sur-

* *Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'Histoire*, 1885. This work is criticized in the *English Historical Review* for July 1886.

rounded them, or the earthen mounds that kept watch over them. London, Winchester, Bristol, Norwich, York, and Lincoln were far in advance of the rest in size and importance; but even London had not more than 30,000 inhabitants, and the largest of the rest not more than 7000 or 8000. For centuries afterwards, Liverpool and Manchester were insignificant villages. The Mersey was a silent estuary, and the Irwell a clear mountain stream. The West Riding of Yorkshire, now clamorous with a thousand industries, was then a wilderness of barren moors and treacherous morasses. There were forges and grinders' wheels at Sheffield it is true, and a little trade in cloth at Leeds and Bradford, but the regions round about were desolate and wild. No part of the country was crowded. At the Conquest the town population cannot have exceeded 150,000 out of a total of a million and a half.* The bulk of the people lived in villages of from thirty to one hundred inhabitants, and were engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. To understand the rural life of England, therefore, up to the middle of the fourteenth century, is to understand nine-tenths of its economic activity.

The whole country outside the larger towns was divided into *manors*—districts, *i.e.*, in which some individual person or some corporation had certain rights over all the inhabitants. Most of these manors consisted of but one village and of the lands around it. If we had entered one of these villages in the Midlands or the South of England seven hundred years ago, we should have found a sort of street, on both sides of which stood the houses of the cultivators of the soil, each with its little yard around it. As yet there were no scattered farm-houses. The most conspicuous building in the place was the village church, too large by half apparently for the inhabitants; but, in addition to its proper functions, the building served the purpose of a fortress in times of danger, of a storehouse for corn and wool, and even of a common hall and market-place, where meetings were held and bargains made

* In 1377, after the ravages of the Plague, Mr. Rogers calculates that the population of London, in round numbers, was 35,000; York, 11,000; Bristol, 9500; Coventry, 7000; Norwich, 6000; Lincoln, 5000. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, he thinks, the population of England never rose above $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

and entertainments given. The only houses of any pretensions in the village were the lord's, the parson's, and the miller's. The dwellings of the villagers were small and poor. Those occupied by what we should call yeomen were built of timber. The floor was of bare earth, and was usually filthy, though not so filthy as the yard outside with its incredible abominations. The sleeping lofts beneath the thatch were reached by a rude, open staircase. A few chests ranged round the ground floor, the huge bacon-rack on the timbers overhead, the agricultural implements upon the walls, were the most prominent objects. The wood fire burnt upon a hob of clay, and the smoke had to get out of the house as best it could. The houses of the cottagers were ruder still. Most of them were mere hovels built of posts wattled and plastered with clay or mud, with an upper story of poles reached by a ladder.

Beyond the village stretched the arable land, divided usually into three large fields, sown one with wheat, and one with oats or beans, while one was left fallow. These fields were again subdivided into "furlongs," and each furlong into acre or half-acre strips, separated by "balks," or unploughed turf, a few feet wide. The good and bad land in these common fields was fairly distributed among the cultivators. No one held two adjacent pieces. Each man's holding was made up of strips scattered up and down the three fields. Each was bound to follow the rotation of crops observed by his neighbours. After harvest all the sheep and cattle of the parish were turned into these fields to feed on the balks and stubbles. In the lowest part of the land—if possible along a stream—lay the "ings" or meadows, annually cut up into lots and enclosed, each lot being distributed either by rotation or by custom; and after the hay was won they were thrown open again for pasture. In almost every manor there was also a considerable amount of permanent pasture and open woodland, into which the cattle and pigs were turned, either "without stint" or in numbers proportionate to each man's holding. All the lands of every kind belonged to the lord of the manor. About a third of it (in the earlier part of the period) was cultivated for his own immediate benefit, and was called the "demesne" or "inland." It consisted partly of separate

closes and partly of acres scattered among those of the tenants in the common fields. The rest of the land was held of the lord in *villenage*. Most of this was held in *whole* or *half virgates* or *yardlands*, the average extent of the virgate being thirty acres, made up of scattered acre or half-acre strips in the three arable fields, with appurtenant and proportionate rights to meadow and pasture and wood. The land, both in demesne and villenage, was cultivated on an elaborate co-operative system. The only permanent labourers on the demesne were a few slaves. Almost all the labour there required was furnished by the villeins (*villani*, *i.e.*, villagers *par excellence*—holders of virgates or half virgates), and by the cotters (holders of a cottage and a few acres in the common fields), as a condition on which they held their land.* The services due from the villeins were of two kinds—“week-work,” and “boon-days,” or *precariae*. The first was a man’s labour for two or three days a week throughout the year; the second, extra labour for a few days at spring and autumn ploughing and at harvest-time. Besides these there were various minor dues and payments varying from manor to manor. The services rendered on the demesne by the cotters were similar but slighter. They possessed neither ox nor plough, and were often employed by the villeins. For the ploughing of the demesne land the lord’s ploughs were assisted by those of the villeins, to which they were bound to furnish oxen and men in

* Two other classes, besides villeins and cotters, existed in the South-Western and Eastern counties—*servi*, or slaves, and *socmen*. In Domesday there is only an average of 9 per cent. of slaves for the whole country; but on the Welsh border and in the South-West there were from 17 to 24 per cent. Absolute slavery, however, disappeared in less than a century after the Conquest, and the *servi* (descendants chiefly from the ancient Britons) became customary holders of small plots like the cotters of other countries, but on more onerous conditions. In the same survey, the *socmen* (those subject to the *soe* or jurisdiction of a lord) and the *freemen* (those free from servile condition of tenure) only formed 4 per cent. of the whole population; but in the Eastern and East Central counties they range from 27 to 45 per cent. of the whole. Both these classes were closely connected with the Danish settlements. There was not much difference between them, and their position was the same as that of the villeins, with two important exceptions. They were not bound to week-work, and they were frequently bound to military service. But they were obliged to take part in the *precariae*, and, like the villeins, they could not sell their lands or leave the manor without the lord’s consent.

due rotation and proportion. The land in villenage was probably cultivated in the same joint way, each tenant contributing oxen and men to the common ploughs in proportion to his holding, and joining his fellows in mowing hay and reaping corn according to some common plan.

The whole organization of the manor was directed towards providing labour for the cultivation of that part of it which the lord kept in his own hands. He and his family lived on the produce of his demesne cultivated by the customary services of his tenants ; and the tenants lived on the produce of the lands which they held in return for such services. But, very gradually, during the three centuries after the Conquest, these services were commuted for corn or money payments, and this commutation was attended by changes in the relations between the two, bewildering in their variety and complexity. The process of commutation had indeed commenced before the Conquest, but it was greatly facilitated and accelerated by the greater security produced by the Norman rule and by the consequent increase of population and cheapening of labour. The lords apparently had no special feeling for or against free tenure ; it was merely a question of relative convenience and advantage. On the commutation of their services, therefore, we often find that the villeins were released from the more servile incidents of their position, and in the thirteenth century, if not earlier, these free tenants usually received charters from their lords conferring possession "for ever" or "to themselves and their heirs." In course of time, portions of the waste land near the village, and portions of the demesne itself, were also let out to these freemen. The process was a very gradual one, as we have said, and could not have been accomplished unless the lord had been able to hire another class of husbandmen to cultivate his fields. And, by some means, which we cannot fully trace, it is clear that there did arise in almost every manor a class of labourers partially if not altogether dependent on wages.

The fundamental characteristics of the manorial group from the economic point of view were its self-sufficiency and its corporate unity. It was possible, but very rare, to introduce new tenants from outside : the same families tilled the fields

from generation to generation. In the village were to be found men who carried on all the crafts and occupations necessary to everyday life. Most of these—the miller, the pounder, the blacksmith, the carpenter—were at first communal officers, holding land (usually twelve acres) as payment for their services, but afterwards they were paid in coin. The carpenter and the blacksmith often went the round of several villages, like country doctors now. The few commodities required by the villagers were supplied either by journeys to some distant fair or market, or by the labour of the family itself. Salt, *e.g.*, was an absolute necessity to people, who, in the absence of winter keep for cattle, were obliged to live on salted meat for half the year. Wrought iron, not as now £4 a ton, but £144 in our money, must be had for ploughs and implements of various kinds. The women and young people attended to the kitchen, and the dairy, and the poultry-yard, and helped in the work of harvesting. They also wove rough woollen and linen cloth for clothing; the men tanned their own leather. And thus for centuries these villagers went on—year in, year out—following the same traditional methods of cultivation, living on what they produced, and hardly ever coming into contact with the world outside. Strangers, or “foreigners” as they called them, were uniformly regarded with suspicion if not with positive dislike, and the neighbouring villagers with jealousy or else contempt. Each village lived a life of its own and was sufficient unto itself. And this isolation and completeness fostered the sense of corporate unity created by their institutions and their daily intercourse. Socially, the villagers were much on a level. Between the tenant and his lord, it is true, the gulf was wider far than that between the farmer and the squire to-day. But between the various classes of cultivators there was no such separation as is now found between the agricultural labourer, *e.g.*, and the farmer, or the tradesman and the squire. All lived together in the village street, worked together in the common fields, acted together for their common good.

As to the position of the individual members of the little community not much need be said. In the majority of cases the chief characteristic of that position was its permanence.

The tenants were bound to the soil, and the soil was bound to them. A father might buy permission for his son to become a clerk or a monk, and younger sons might go off to seek their fortunes in the towns ; but, at a time when no one could sell ox or horse without license from the lord or leave the manor without his permission, and only then on payment of a heavy fine, we may be sure that changes would be few and rare. On the other hand, the farmers had security of tenure so long as their dues were paid, and holdings passed as a matter of course and custom from father to son. From the eleventh century at latest, the labour services demanded by the lord remained unchanged in amount till they were commuted for money, and, when once they were commuted, the money rents were never raised.* Of individual liberty, in the modern sense, and in the economic sphere, of course there was none, nor was there any of that competition which is postulated in the current Political Economy ; but there was permanence of holding, fixity of rent, and, in ordinary seasons, plenty and content.

According to Mr. Rogers, who on this subject has accumulated an enormous mass of information from contemporary records—

“ The rate of production was small, the conditions of health unsatisfactory, the duration of life short. But, on the whole, there were none of those extremes of poverty and wealth which have excited the astonishment of philanthropists, and are now exciting the indignation of workmen. . . . Though there was hardship in this life, the hardship was a common lot, and there was hope in it—more hope than superficial historians have conceived possible, and perhaps more variety than there is in the peasant’s lot of our time.”

Simultaneously with the organization and development of these little village communities there had taken place a similar advance in urban economic life. In a lawyer’s handbook, compiled in the year 1250, there is a list of English

* For fully three centuries—say, from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth—the rent of arable land remained at from 6*d.* to 8*d.* an acre. Meadow land was let at an average of 7*s.* 6*d.* an acre all the year round—6*s.* for the first cutting and 1*s.* 6*d.* for the rowens or aftermath.

towns, each with some characteristic attached to it. Various localities in London, it appears, were famous for particular commodities—Westminster for relics, St. Paul's for pardons, Charing for prostitutes. Oxford was renowned for its schools, Cambridge for its eels, Wilton for its needles, Leicester for its razors, Ely for its ale. Gloucester was the mart for iron, Bristol for leather, Coventry for soap, Chester and Shrewsbury for skins and furs, Corfe for marble, and, of course, Cornwall for tin. Grimsby was noted even then for cod, Rye for whiting, Yarmouth for bloater, Berwick for salmon, Scarborough for "Haberdens," whatever that may mean. Ripon was the great horse mart of the time, and Doncaster was famous for its horse-girths. Gloves were chiefly sold at Haverhill, oxen at Nottingham, saddlery at Northampton.

More important than this early differentiation of localities for trade, however, was the rise and spread of guilds for regulating trade and industry, and promoting all the varied interests of the urban population. Before the Conquest there are traces of religious guilds and "frith" guilds—societies, *i.e.*, for the performance of certain pious offices, and for mutual assistance in the preservation of the peace; and it is not unlikely that similar societies for regulating and promoting trade existed at that time. But there is no mention of a merchant guild before 1093. During the twelfth century these institutions were formed in almost every English town. The ordinances of four of them, in such widely separated towns as Totnes, Leicester, Berwick, and Southampton, have been preserved; and from these it is fair to infer that merchant guilds all over the kingdom had much the same kind of organization. At the head of each of them were one or two aldermen, with two or four wardens or assistants, whose duty it was to summon and preside over the meetings and festivities, and to manage the estates and funds of the society. With them was associated an inner council of twelve or twenty-four guildsmen. The bulk of the members were burgesses of the town. Most of them held land within the town, and, from the fact that the articles most frequently mentioned in the guild records are skins, wool, corn, &c., we may infer that the trade consisted for the most part in the

raw products of agriculture. Non-members were permitted to sell victuals in the town, but, if they engaged in any other trade, they were subjected by the municipal authorities to tolls from which the members of the guild were free. Each member paid an entrance fee and other dues, and the money was spent for the common purposes of the society. In its meetings, known as "morning speeches," the fraternity drew up regulations for trading, and imposed fines and other penalties for breaches of commercial morality. They were especially careful to promote fair dealing, and to maintain a high standard of quality in the goods sold. The rolls contain numerous records of fines for dishonestly dyeing wool, for mixing bad wool with good, for selling at more than the fixed price, and for forestalling the market—a process similar to the present "cornering." In addition to these trade regulations, various social functions were fulfilled by the guild. Sick members were visited, poor members relieved; the daughters of the less prosperous were dowered for marriage or for the convent, and the souls and bodies of the dead were solemnly confided to their long repose.

A century later, another and still more important class of guilds arose among the various kinds of workmen in the towns and spread to every branch of urban industry. Isolated examples of these *craft guilds* occur much earlier, but it was not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that they became numerous and important. Before the end of that century they were to be found in almost every town, and the great industrial centres were teeming with their life and pageantry. Their organization was similar to that of the merchant guilds. All the artisans of a particular industry in a town formed themselves into an association for the promotion of their common interests and purposes. In their annual assemblies, the craftsmen elected wardens, overseers, bailiffs, or masters, whose chief duty was to supervise the industry, and to impose fines and penalties for breaches of the bye-laws. No one could work at the craft who had not been admitted by the officers of the guild, and seven years' apprenticeship came to be required before a man was allowed to become a master of the craft. The regulations of the

guild aimed at the prevention of fraud and at the observance of certain standards of size and quality in the articles produced. Night work was forbidden, partly not to disturb the neighbours, partly to provide work for more hands, but chiefly to facilitate inspection and prevent "false" work. Each guild had also rules providing for mutual help in difficulties, for meetings, festivals, and worship. These guilds were at once trade, benefit, and friendly societies. In course of time many of them became wealthy corporations, as we may judge from the fact that as early as the fourteenth century two Cambridge guilds contributed the funds to found a new college in the University. Wealthy members, too, very often devised land and houses and money to these societies for charitable and religious purposes; chantries and side-chapels were maintained by the guilds in churches and cathedrals; almshouses and orphanages were founded for the living and masses endowed for the dead.

As in the village community so in the guild system the main features in the economic life induced and fostered by it were its unity and exclusiveness. Each group of merchants or artisans formed a social unit, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs. The guilds were subject to the general control of the municipal and central authorities, but they were independent of each other, and within themselves they each developed an intense and varied personal and corporate life. The mediæval craftsman, *e.g.*, was far more independent than the modern artisan. He did not work for wages in the modern sense. The poorer men had to spend a few years as journeymen after completing their apprenticeship, but even then there was no social gulf between themselves and their employers. They worked in the same shop side by side, and the servant earned at least half as much as the master, whilst in the majority of cases workmen set up as master craftsmen as soon as they were "loose." All a man needed in order to do this was to be able to hire a house, to buy the necessary tools, and, in some crafts, a few raw materials. Skill and connection were the two chief requisites, and, when once these were gained, the workman's independence was secured. Collisions between capital and labour could not

arise, for there was as yet but little capital, in the modern sense of the term, and less labour, and what there was of them was in the same hands. Nor was the independence of the craftsman altogether sacrificed inside his guild. Within certain limits he was permitted to pursue his own interest as he thought best; but, at the same time, there was a strong feeling that the trade or industry was the common interest of the whole body, and that each was bound to submit to regulations for the common good. The members of each craft, moreover, usually lived in the same street or neighbourhood. In London, e.g., the saddlers lived around the Church of St. Martin-le-Grand, the lorimers in Cripplegate, the weavers in Cannon Street, the smiths in Smithfield, the bucklers in Bucklersbury. And this grouping would add much to the sense of corporate unity within the guild. In other ways, the spirit of the body was created and preserved, not least by the monopoly that each enjoyed. The craft guilds had a monopoly of manufactures, the merchant guilds a monopoly of merchandise. "Foreigners" from other towns and from abroad were either excluded or subjected to onerous conditions of trade and industry. How the privileges of the merchant guilds were gradually invaded, first by the craftsmen as they rose to positions of influence in the municipalities, and afterwards by merchants from other countries through the intervention of the central government, is lucidly described by Mr. Ashley; and both he and Mr. Rogers furnish detailed and most curious accounts of the internal and external trade and commerce of the time—of the great annual fairs at Winchester and Stourbridge; of the weekly and bi-weekly markets held in almost every town; of roads, and inns, and means of communication; and of the economic action of both Church and State. Of special interest, were there room for it, would be the information, gathered from both volumes, on such subjects as the currency, the assize of weights and measures, the regulation of the prices of labour and commodities, &c. But most of these matters will come up for subsequent remark, and the space remaining to us must be given to Mr. Ashley's closing summary—a summary that

may serve the double purpose of a backward bird's-eye view and of a final commendation of his admirable work.

During the period we have been considering, "out of and alongside a *village economy*—a condition of things in which almost all the economic life of the country was concentrated in a number of agricultural groups—had grown up a *town economy*, where manufactures and trade were fostered and monopolized by civic communities, becoming more and more unlike the agricultural population, yet stimulating agriculture by providing markets. Within the manor groups, though there was little apparent change in everyday life, the plan of commutation of services was preparing the ground for the more violent changes that were to come: within the towns the burgher monopoly was slowly broken down by native artisans and foreign merchants. Dealings between man and man were influenced by principles which have almost disappeared from modern life, but were then, to at least a large extent, enforced by the authority of Church and State. The royal authority secured for society trustworthy instruments of exchange; and, by helping to break down the privileges of isolated town communities, prepared the way for the idea of a *national economy* to make its appearance in the sixteenth century."

ART. VIII.—TWELVE GOOD MEN.

Lives of Twelve Good Men. By JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, B.D.,
Dean of Chichester; sometime Fellow of Oriel College,
and Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford. In two
volumes. London: John Murray. 1888.

DEAN BURGON lived to prepare these volumes for the press, and carefully to revise the printed sheets, but not to see them published. His busy pen here did its last and best work—emphatically a labour of love, but often interrupted by the ill-health of the writer. The polemic

divine may almost be said to have embalmed in these volumes, and in thus embalming to have made the best of, his many controversies, which, however, are not unduly obtruded, but make their appearance and reappearance, "crop up" from time to time, in the course of his biographies of his twelve friends—for he knew personally as friends all of whom he writes. We are bound, however, to say that his latest polemic—one also, we cannot doubt, of his most acrimonious, that by which he is best known to present-day readers, and which made a wider and stronger impression than any other of his controversial writings—we refer to his articles on "The Revision Revised," originally contributed to the *Quarterly Review*—can scarcely be said in any way to colour or be reflected in these volumes. Our limits will not allow us to bestow many lines on Dean Burgon himself, except so far as we may sometimes have to note characteristic features in his writing. He was a zealous and devoted Anglican, a scholar—though not of the highest class—and a man of good abilities. He had studied the standard theology of his Church, and, more or less, the Romish controversy. He was a warm and faithful friend, an entertaining companion, full of "good stories," a fierce partisan, and had that sort of big-boyishness of character which is often found in old bachelors, especially if they have lived all their lives in a club, or set, or in College fellowship. It is astonishing with what enthusiasm he tells his anecdotes—not seldom finding much where men not of the set can only find little, and exaggerating traits of character in a fervid spirit of admiration or an almost childish vein of amusement. But yet he has furnished a very readable and valuable work—one which is an important contribution to the history of the English Church during the last momentous half-century of its existence. Nor can we doubt that, as they read these volumes, those who may most sharply have differed from Dean Burgon during his life, will all of them, who yet survive, part with him in peace and goodwill. He was not a great man, but he was honest and true, and his friends had good reason to love him. Nor have many men had either more, or more distinguished, friends than Dean Burgon.

One thing must be remembered always in estimating his views, that he began, like not a few others, as a Tractarian, being blind for a long time to the dominant bias and covert first principles of the school, and that, although, like Hook and others, he parted company with Newman when that *doctor subtilis* took the decided and evident turn towards Rome, he never came to see that the line along which for years he kept him company with zeal and goodwill was itself leading, somewhat less directly, but by inevitable tendency and consequence, towards the same goal. A fog of confusion and inconsistency, in fact, envelops his High Anglicanism from first to last. The *via media* which he, with most of his friends, chose as the Anglican way of safety, an impartial and clear-headed critic cannot but plainly see, if it does not lead to Rome, can only lead into a maze from which no clear outlook can be obtained, and which stands apart from all the world besides.

Of the "twelve good men" commemorated by Dean Burgon, four occupy, with their biographies, the first of these goodly volumes, which is the larger of the two, and eight the second volume. The four are Martin Joseph Routh, Hugh James Rose, Charles Marriott, and Edward Hawkins; the eight are Samuel Wilberforce, Richard Lynch Cotton, Richard Greswell, Henry Octavius Coxe, Henry Longueville Mansel, William Jacobson, Charles Page Eden, and Charles Longuet Higgins. The substance of what is here published as to Provost Hawkins and Dean Mansel had before appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, and of a number of the others Dean Burgon had contributed sketches to the columns of the *Guardian*. All the biographies, however, with perhaps one exception, are fitly and happily gathered and grouped together in these volumes; they are naturally associated with each other, and are all worthy of being had in remembrance. Only we do not see what need there was for Dean Burgon to add his slender contribution, which, except a few good stories, seems to contain scarcely anything new, to that which has already been published, and read so widely, as to Bishop Wilberforce. His correction and rebuke of Mr. Reginald

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Wilberforce, who seems to have published a more or less apocryphal story about Dean Burgon himself in relation to the new Church Lectionary, might have been introduced into the Preface of these volumes, where also what else the Dean had to say that was worth printing about his famous friend might well have found a place, in connection with a number of interesting biographical reminiscences relating to friends other than the twelve which the author has there packed together. We confess, moreover, to a doubt whether Dean Burgon was quite competent to admeasure and appraise so various and gifted a man as that great Bishop. Hugh James Rose, an able, firm, and well-read man, was, during his too short life, most fitly the leader of Mr. Burgon, and not unfitly—from the original Tractarian point of view—is exalted by him in the *Life* here published as “the restorer of the old paths.” But, though more learned than Samuel Wilberforce, he was assuredly not his superior, but his inferior, not alone in versatility and in the gifts of a great orator and public leader, but in the instinct and insight which led Bishop Wilberforce earlier and more thoroughly than any other of the eminent Oxford High Churchmen to discern the pernicious and the essentially Popish tendency and character of the Tractarian school of teaching. Unlike Dean Burgon himself, and some of his friends, of whom he writes in this volume, Wilberforce did not need to be instructed by the event before he saw through the Popish corruption which lay hidden under the subtleties alike of Newman and of Pusey, in the later numbers of the *Tracts for the Times*. Embarrassed, doubtless, by some High Church tenets and teaching of his own—themselves radically Romanist, if the plain truth is told—he nevertheless almost from the first suspected the drift of the *Tracts*, and for many years, and with increasing clearness and emphasis, down to the delivery of his final and memorable Address to his Rural Deans at Winchester, four days before his death, bore faithful witness against the Popery of *Puseyism*, as the scheme of ultra-Tractarian teaching was, as to its principles, not untruly called; of *Ritualism*, as the latest developments of the same party are now described in reference to their outward aspect and form.

Dean Burgon, on the other hand, denies that "the thing called Ritualism" is the legitimate "outcome of the later Tractarianism." He maintains that it is "quite a distinct, quite a different thing from that great Catholic movement, to which, as young men—under the grand leadership of Hugh James Rose—Newman, Palmer, Keble, Isaac Williams, Harrison, Pusey, Marriott, and others contributed their genius, their piety, their learning, their influence." It was the merit of Bishop Wilberforce that, for many years before his death, he traced back the Romishly ritualistic exhibitions and performances, with which, as episcopal administrator, he had to deal, to the sacramentarian superstitions, of which they were but the natural symbolism to the popular eye and mind, and that he exposed with unsparing fidelity the "cleaving curse" of the confessional with its quasi-monastic accessories. The Bishop was engaged in rendering such faithful service, when he delivered that final and searching address, to which we have referred, of which Dean Burgon speaks so highly, and from which he gives some striking extracts. In doing this work he went much deeper than the externals of ritualism; he really exposes and refutes the Popish doctrine of the Eucharist, to which the whole Tractarian school, magnified by Dean Burgon, was fundamentally committed, as its very central doctrine. If, in doing this work, Bishop Wilberforce more or less opposed and exposed some part of his own teaching, especially his earlier teaching, so much the better for the memory of his episcopal career. It is idle to attempt to uphold as orthodox and moderate the High Church Anglicanism of Keble and his associates, while the perversion of Newman is bitterly lamented, and the ritualism of our modern High Churchmen is vehemently condemned. It has been demonstrated in the pages of this journal,* on the plainest and strongest evidence, that Keble's principles, as set forth in his published volume of sermons, would have carried him all lengths in the way of Romeward advance and Romish externalism and intolerance, if his logical consistency had not been overborne by his Anglican habits and practical sympathies,

* Vol. xxvi. (First Series), July 1866.

and his surroundings as a beneficed clergyman. Newman is, in our judgment—and we refer doubters on this point to Archdeacon Hare's writings and to Mr. Arthur's valuable work on *The Pope, the Kings, and the Peoples*—a man greatly overrated intellectually, as well as unduly venerated. He is, in fact, an untrustworthy and altogether unfair controversialist. But, in comparison of Dr. Pusey and some others among his Oxford friends, his course, when we look back upon it, step by step, seems more and more to us to have been, in its later stages, after the publication of Tract 90, upright and honourable. A perusal of these volumes has deepened our impression in this respect.

Those who wish to see what, under its highest aspect, was the teaching and course of a model Tractarian in Oxford itself, who had come most powerfully under the spell of Newman's fascination—a most potent spell, it cannot be doubted—but who refused to follow him to Rome, may find it sympathetically described in the life here given of Charles Marriott, a scholar of many eccentricities, but “of saintly life.” Of his goodness, his devotion, his pastoral consecration, the sketch leaves no doubt. He was also a close patristic student, and an industrious editorial hack in the service of the Tractarian school. But as to his capacity as a divine, his perspicacity as a thinker, his grasp of principles, his fitness to lead, the impression is that Charles Marriott must occupy quite an inferior position. The author's habit of exaggeration in trying to make something out of little or nothing, to find illustrative anecdotes in altogether trivial personal stories, is strongly shown in this sketch. The impression left upon us, in general, is that the men of the later Tractarian school, who did not, like Newman, go to Rome, were nearly all of them small men. Dr. Pusey was, in some respects, no doubt, an exception; but assuredly he was not a great man, although in Newman's time, and among their set, he was called 'O Méγας. Their principles, as at once English Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics, were confused and contradictory, and allowed them no scope for progress of any sort, no play for originality, no room for development, no liberty of intellectual movement. If Dean Burgon, in his later life, seemed to gather power, to expand in sympathy, and to develop

faculty—although he was to the end in various respects a narrow man, and in no respect intellectually much more than a mediocre man—the reason of his elevation and enlargement, as far as it went, may probably be found in his close association, in later life, with such men as Bishop Jacobson, Charles Portalés Golightly, whom he has commemorated in his Preface, and above all his saintly and large-souled brother-in-law, Charles Longuet Higgins, the “Good Layman,” of whom he has given a really charming memoir, all of whom were trained in circles of sympathy and of opinion radically opposed to the Tractarian school, and whose total development, mental and modern, was larger and freer than would have been compatible with mere Anglo-Catholicism as taught at Oxford. Mr. Higgins, in his later life, through the influence of his brother-in-law, was brought into close relations with leading members of the Anglo-Catholic school. But in his early life he was altogether under the influence of Legh Richmond and of the “Clapham school” of Churchmen. His parents, indeed, were intimate with Thomas Scott, the commentator, with Cowper, the poet, and all his circle, including John Newton. Among such friends Mr. Higgins grew up as a boy. In his case, High Churchman as he seemed to become, the Horatian lines were signally fulfilled—

“Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.”

“His favourite devotional manuals,” to the end of his life, “were those of the school of Leighton. Of Charles Simeon he always spoke with enthusiasm. He never went to rest without reading a page or two of the *Pilgrim’s Progress*. The *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis, Law’s *Serious Call*, Scott’s *Force of Truth* were always on the table of his dressing-room.” Such was the chosen food of his soul, till he was translated to Paradise, “although,” as his brother-in-law tells us, “this dear brother freely acknowledged the superiority of that Catholic system of teaching to which he had become introduced at comparatively an advanced period of his life.” “Never to the last did he seek to divest himself of the religious pre-possessions of his youth and early manhood.”

To our thinking the story of this good man's life was better worth telling than that of any other in the two volumes. There is little that is really valuable in the others which might not have been told by some other person than Dean Burgon, but this life could have been described by no other, and it is of rarer quality than any of the rest. "The more I dwell in memory on the subject of these pages," says the biographer, "the more impressed I am with the beauty of the character I have been endeavouring to portray. It was a life of consistent goodness from its dawn to its close: but the evening of his days was lovelier even than life's commencement." Some months before his death he said to a very intimate friend, "I have been feeling of late that I am so at the edge of the grave, that my thoughts go on to what is beyond; and sometimes I realize God's presence until it is too much for me. I feel I can bear no more while I am in the flesh." When his death came, says the memorialist, in words which may be fanciful, but not the less are beautiful, "it was a death like that foretold to the 'disciple whom JESUS loved.' He had 'tarried' until his LORD had 'come.' Already he was in Paradise. . . . In the words of a noble lady (a friend and neighbour), the instant she heard of his departure, 'He has already surely heard that wonderful "Well done!"'"

Such was the end of this "good layman," whose life had been throughout saintly and self-sacrificing, whose spirit was truly apostolic, who, though called a layman, was as thoroughly consecrated to Christ, in all diligence of holy and loving service, alike in things spiritual and temporal, as was ever Christian priest or minister, and whose untiring beneficence was a vital part of his religion. In his own neighbourhood, far and wide, he was, by day and night, physician both of soul and body to all conditions of men, but especially the poor—for he had studied and graduated in the healing art for the sake of his neighbours. He was a man of many accomplishments, but all were consecrated to the one end of his life.

We cannot but contrast the experience and the last days of Mr. Higgins with those of President Routh, the "learned divine"—the last of the series with the first of the twelve. The good layman was nourished on the sweetest and purest

evangelical doctrine, the erudite divine was profoundly and accurately learned in all patristic lore—in this respect perhaps no modern scholar has equalled him—was an Anglo-Catholic of the highest and strictest old-school orthodoxy. The early fathers and the most orthodox divines of the High Church of England school had furnished the spiritual instruction and nourishment of this true son of old Magdalen College. In his end he had firm faith, which looked calmly at the future. He was “ready.” “Sir,” he said to Provost Hawkins, in his characteristic old-world manner, “I believe everything is ordered for the best. Do not you believe that, sir?” But higher than this he does not seem to have risen; of “experience,” of “assurance,” of “foretaste,” he seems to have had none. To the last he appears to have been much engaged about questions of Church government, but as to the inner life we hear nothing. Among his papers were found rough drafts of his own intended epitaphs, of which one is thus given: “O all ye who come here, in your Christian and charitable hope, wish peace and felicity, and a consummation thereof afterwards, to the soul of Martin Joseph Routh. . . . He departed this life . . . dying, as he had lived, attached to the Catholic Faith taught in the Church of England, and averse from all Papal and Sectarian innovations.” Another draft said that he “lies buried in the adjoining crypt, with his wife, Eliza Agnes Blagrave, of Calcot, whom the Lord grant to find mercy from the Lord in that day.”

It is evident that in the case of this ancient scholar and divine, patristic studies had not lighted his soul to apostolic or primitive experience. Such a tone of uncertainty shows that dogmatic faith and the “full assurance” of that faith which is the “confidence of things hoped for, the assurance of things not seen,” may stand quite apart from each other. The tone of Dr. Routh’s experience at the end of his life stands equally and alike in contrast with that of Henry Longuet Higgins, and of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

We are bound to say, further, that to us the view given in the first of these memoirs of the tone and manner of life of President Routh, who, dying in his 100th year, had held the Presidency of his College for more than sixty years, is by no

means attractive. The old gentleman was no doubt a well-preserved specimen of the eighteenth century high and dry school—a drier specimen could scarcely be imagined—but his peculiarities are few of them interesting, and still fewer pleasant. His oddities, while striking and sometimes grotesque, are by no means genial, seldom even picturesque, never really racy. Why Dean Burgon took so much pains to collect specimens of them—why he tells them with such apparent glee or gusto—why, with such lively and self-satisfied emphasis, he exhibits some very energetic, but absolutely trivial, outbursts of the President's humour, such as it was, we cannot divine. The writer of these memoirs was an aged man; his amusement at these traits of character seems to us to be puerile, a part indeed of that big-boyishness of which we have spoken—as if, in the spirit of a schoolboy telling tales about old-boy heroes, he thought that every peculiarity, however ridiculous, of a great and ancient Oxford pundit must be worth recording. If we had been left to our own ideal of Dr. Routh, gained long ago from hints furnished by some scholars who had consulted him, the late Dr. Pye Smith among others, we should have been better pleased than to have it supplanted by one so wanting in dignity and with so little of attractiveness as that which we gather from Dean Burgon's pages. There is, however, one gem of counsel which the old scholar gave forty years ago to his biographer—the only piece of counsel that he could on that occasion extract from him—“Verify your references.” To a young student this is indeed a golden maxim—one never to be forgotten or neglected.

Of Dean Burgon's “twelve good men” all but the “good layman” were in holy orders; all but two—the two being Hugh James Rose and Charles Longuet Higgins—were Oxford men; four—viz., Charles Marriott, Provost Hawkins, Bishop Wilberforce, and Charles Page Eden, were of Oriel—of which College all but Wilberforce were Fellows, and their biographer was for many years a Fellow; while Cotton, Greswell, and Coxe were of Worcester College, all of them Fellows, Cotton Provost; Mansel was Fellow of St. John's, and Bishop Jacobson of Exeter.

In the history of the Church of England it is hard to say whether, among these names, that of H. J. Rose or of Dean Mansel is the more important, both of them being in the first rank of influential Churchmen. Strange as it may seem to say so, it is not quite certain, for a special reason to be presently noted, whether a much less distinguished man than either, Richard Greswell, may not be judged hereafter to have done more for his Church than either of them. Provost Hawkins was, no doubt, a great University Don and an able Churchman ; but we shall not be able to spare space for any reference to his protracted and influential career.

We shall not in this article dwell much on the interesting sketch of Mansel, greatly as, if our space were less limited, we might have been tempted to do so. Dean Burdon was a great admirer and close personal friend of the distinguished metaphysician, who was a man of brilliant and versatile powers. He was a writer of chaste and finished eloquence, when the subject was appropriate for such a style, as well as of extraordinary subtlety and acuteness in abstract reasoning. He was a well-read theologian, as well as an acute and learned metaphysician. Many years ago, in this journal,* we pointed out the errors into which, as we conceived, he had, in his Bampton Lectures on the " Limits of Religious Thought," been misled by a play of dialectic which degenerated at certain points and on certain subjects into merely verbal subtleties, but at the same time we expressed our high opinion of his faculties as a thinker, of the work he had previously done as a metaphysician, and of many points and postures included in the lectures. He exposed himself to an attack by Professor Maurice, in which that often confused thinker had at various points the advantage over him, but he retaliated with a reply of scathing severity, for which his antagonist had given him not a little provocation by the arrogance of his tone and the loftiness of assumption which were often his characteristics in controversy. As to all these matters Dean Burdon has something to say in his memoir. But he dwells with manifest and especial pleasure on the brilliance of Mansel's wit, his gifts as a *raconteur*, and his attractive

* First Series, vol. xiv., July 1860.

social qualities. In these respects, the metaphysical theologian seems to have been pre-eminent. For readiness, aptness, and freshness—for swift brilliance of wit—the only one, besides Sydney Smith, whom we have known or heard of at all to be compared with Dean Mansel was the late Dr. Waddy, who was, in 1859, President of the Wesleyan Conference, and whose marvellous gifts of wit and repartee, able and eloquent man as he was, were undoubtedly his most characteristic mental qualities. Dean Mansel's range of allusion, however, as perhaps might be expected, seems to have been wider than Dr. Waddy's. It is evident that in his description of this side of his friend's character Dean Burgon, himself a great *raconteur*, has found a most congenial theme. As in the case of Dr. Waddy, "his wit cost him no effort. He could not help being witty, and was as brilliant before two as before twenty." Out driving with some friends, including a little girl, and the little girl having pointed to a donkey who had got his head into a barrel and could not get it out, Mansel was heard to murmur *sotto voce*, "then it will be a case of *asphyxia*." A visitor whom he was showing round St. Paul's pointed to a huge figure of Neptune, asking sharply, "What has *that* got to do with Christianity?" "Tridentine Christianity perhaps," suggested Mansel. "He was great at guessing riddles, and not unfrequently hit on better answers than the real ones. Some one asked him, 'Why is a wife like a patten?' (expecting the stupid answer, 'Because she is a clog'), Mansel rejoined immediately, 'Because she elevates the soul.'" Such a combination of faculties as Dean Mansel possessed is certainly very remarkable. But the wit and nimbleness of the spirit, the swift competitive flash and play of wit and repartee, do their part in exhausting the mind. It is likely that these exercises combined with metaphysics, theology, college and cathedral business, and sharp politics, to bring to premature exhaustion, at a comparatively early age, this gifted man, who, after all, left behind him small and scanty fruits of thought in comparison of what his early promise and his extraordinary powers might have warranted his generation in expecting. He died at the age of fifty-one.

If Dean Mansel is the "good man" whom of all he most

admired intellectually, and with whom he had the largest fellowship of purely social sympathy, Hugh James Rose is the one whom, as a divine and a Churchman, the biographer desired most of all to honour, and whom he thought of all the Churchmen of his age most worthy of the Church's confidence. His early death (at the age of forty-three) he regarded as, humanly speaking, the greatest calamity the Church had known in his generation. He gives his hero the title of "The Restorer of the Old Paths." According to his account it was Rose, rather than Newman, who originated the Anglican Revival of fifty-five years ago. Rose disapproved of Newman's errors and excesses, acted powerfully as a moderator upon him and his Oxford band, and, if he had lived, would, in Dean Burgon's view, have been such a counter-power as might have saved the Church of England from the calamitous collapse and the leakage from perversions which marked the period following 1845. He and not Newman would have been the true "restorer" and leader for the Church, and he was strong enough, Dean Burgon believed, to have held the position of arbiter or leader even in the face of Newman and his mighty influence. Rose died in 1838, worn out with disease and overwork. Newman, to use his own words in his *Apologia*, was "from the end of 1841 on his death-bed, as regarded his membership with the Anglican Church," and in October 1845, to use Dean Burgon's own words, "actually transferred his allegiance to that Church which a few years before he had publicly denounced with unsparing bitterness as under the actual domination of Satan." For some time before his death Rose had been growingly uneasy, not to say suspicious, as to the tone and tendency of Newman's writings, as to the effect upon the rising generation of University men of the spirit and influence emanating from Newman and his congenial friend—perhaps we should say leader—R. H. Froude. Dean Burgon publishes a number of Rose's letters to Newman of this period, with small portions of Newman's own share of the correspondence. From these it is evident that Mr. Rose, as he was senior to Newman, and altogether independent of him, and was also doubtless at the time a man of wider theological reading and greater influence, besides being a

firm character and settled purpose, felt himself able and entitled to speak to Newman with a plainness of speech such as no other person could use, and that Newman deferred to him more than to any one else. To Rose, indeed, Newman inscribed the fourth volume of his sermons, as to one "who, when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us and betake ourselves to our true mother."

It may well be doubted, however, whether, if Rose had lived, he would have continued to preserve anything like the same relation to Newman. The intellects of the two men were incommensurable. Newman's influence arose from sources altogether different from any faculty of influence and authority possessed by Rose, and touched accordingly a different order of minds. Newman's "Catholic" intensity of bias and feeling derived much of its quality from a transformed evangelical ecstasy and experimental assurance which was altogether foreign to the character of Hugh James Rose's Anglican orthodoxy. Rose was content to walk in the old ways of traditional Anglicanism. Newman had a vein of enthusiasm, a power of imagination, and a gift of genius, which made it impossible that he should be confined within the same limits.

Besides all which, Rose was a Cambridge man, and Newman was magnetizing the young men of Oxford, and always gathering and radiating influence at that focus. The metaphysical and theological genius of the two Universities has always been different. Cambridge had already received its revival through Simeon and his school. The revival of Oxford was now to come, with Newman to kindle it instead of Simeon. Between the Simeonite Evangelicals and the rising Broad Church Cambridge was preoccupied. It had no faculty, no receptivity, no fuel to spare for the establishment of a new school of Anglican zeal and devotion. The rising school of religious thought, for the moment, was that of Hare, which was presently stimulated and distorted into the Neo-Platonic mysticism of Maurice. It was the turn now of Oxford to have its Church Revival. Oxford, according to its traditions, could hardly be widely swept by any but a High Church influence. But that influence was not likely to emanate

from a stiff Cambridge High Churchman walking in the fetters of Carolan theology and Church theories.

Nor was this all. The general studies and tendencies of the age had brought earnest and systematic students of ecclesiastical principles face to face with the question of the historical unity and continuity of the Church. The works of Neander in regard to this subject and to other ecclesiastical questions represented a movement of the mind which was awakening inquiry not only in Germany but also in England. The writings of Archdeacon Hare are full of the evidences of this fact. The politico-ecclesiastical speculations of Coleridge directed attention to it. There were two wrong solutions of the question of the Church's historical continuity and unity which presented themselves to many minds, one the Broad Church solution, which was expounded most fully and with great ability a few years later by Maurice, which, in a vaguer and less objectionable form, was adopted not only by Arnold, but, in the first instance, by Dr. Pusey, when, as his first writing, he published his defence of German Protestantism against the strictures of Hugh James Rose, and when his writing savoured rather of Rationalism than of Romanism. The other was the mediaeval Catholic and the Anglican High Church—or, as we now speak, the Anglo-Catholic view. Both these solutions erred in placing the identity and continuity of the Church in Christianity, *as visibly organized*. The first, or Broad Church, view found the Christian Church in the national or other public communities, which, however loosely or generally, professed the Christian name and faith. Collectively, from generation to generation, these constituted the Christian Church. Of this view Maurice was, as we have intimated, the ablest and most complete expositor. The other, or "Catholic," view found the identity and continuity of the Christian Church in a direct succession of Churches, holding the orthodox faith, and having a ministry or priesthood lineally derived from the primitive and apostolic Church. Both these views assume that Christianity is founded and rooted in external conditions. The true view, which regards the one true and living Church of Christ as consisting of the whole body, from age to age, of living

Christians, spiritually united to Christ Jesus, their Divine Human Head, and constituting His one ever-living mystical body, invisible in regard to its spiritual glory and beauty, inasmuch as the "life" of its members "is hid with Christ in God," although visibly connected individually with various Christian churches and communions, is one which appears rarely to have entered into the thought of High Churchmen as at all possible, or as even conceivable, although, besides its being the New Testament doctrine, it is the view which has always been held by the most spiritually united and devoted Christian brotherhoods, from age to age. The succession of mystics of the better side, whether Catholic or Protestant; the German pietists, who, in the worst days of dead Lutheran faith and formalism, kept alive the light and tradition of living Christian experience in Germany; Protestant Continental divines of the most profound spiritual intelligence and insight—such, for example, as Vinet in recent times; all evangelical Nonconformists, and nearly all thoroughly evangelical Churchmen, have agreed in holding this view. It was, with a sort of necessary and unconscious acceptance, assimilated as a part of Christian doctrine, by that succession of earnest and experimental Christians at Cambridge, of whom for half a century Simeon was the recognized leader, and who were often honoured with the epithet of "Methodist"; it has always been a central part of the Christian faith of the followers of John Wesley. But it was a view of the Christian Church entirely opposed to the genius and all the traditions of Oxford, which, in this respect unlike Cambridge, but always consistent with itself, has, since the light of Wiclif died out of its cloisters, held with unchanging tenacity to the externalist and Anglican High Church view of ecclesiastical and religious questions. It is true that, even in Oxford, Whately led and Arnold supported an opposite view. But how uncongenial their teaching was to the atmosphere of the place was strikingly shown by the total failure of their influence to counteract in any degree the Tractarian movement. It is true, also, no doubt, that the revolutionary changes of recent years have produced effects, more or less

disturbing, in the tone of thought on this subject. But we are speaking of Oxford as it was forty years ago and more.

In the Oxford University of which we are speaking, the Oxford of half a century ago, the character and opinions of Hugh James Rose, if he had been a resident, might well have had great conservative influence. They would have been congenial to the place. But then he was not a resident, and that which Newman was to initiate was not a conservative restoration, but a revival, in which there should be an altogether new inspiration and influence. Newman himself, in his *Apologia*, indicates both these reasons as having been fatal to Mr. Rose's ascendancy, or moderating power, in the destined movement.

"There was another reason," he says, "which severed Mr. Rose from the Oxford movement. Living movements do not come of Committees, nor are great ideas worked out through the post Universities are the natural centres of intellectual movements. How could men act together, unless they were united in a sort of individuality? But another condition, besides that of place, was required. A far more essential unity was that of antecedents—a common history, common memories, an intercourse of mind with mind in the past, and a progress and increase of that intercourse in the present."

In such words, and others to a similar effect, which go fully into detail, the *Apologia* explains why Mr. Rose could not lead or inspire an Oxford movement. But that autobiography of the Tractarian leader also indicates, what we have stated, that no mere conservative restoration, such as Mr. Rose would have desired to organize, would have been likely to succeed at that crisis of feeling in Oxford. Froude was the energetic and wilful partner of Newman in the new enterprise—Froude, who, with less genius, far less personal tact and persuasiveness, and no gift of public or pulpit suasion, such as Newman possessed in a wonderful degree, was a man of commanding character, of great logical daring, of unsparing pugnacity, of far-reaching ideas, whom Newman greatly admired and even loved, though he was loved by few besides. These two men were mutually complementary; together they planned and marked out the lines of the

Tractarian conspiracy—a conspiracy it was, and a very terrible one, the fell influence and effects of which, at this hour, are tainting very deeply with deadly poison the great, and in some respects, admirable Anglican revival, and indeed are threatening the very existence of the Church of England, not merely as an Establishment, but as a united organization. With Newman and Froude it was impossible for Rose really to coalesce. “Mr. Rose,” says the *Apologia*, “had a position in the Church, a name, and serious responsibilities Rose could not go ahead across country, as Froude had no scruples in doing.” Froude applied to Rose, in a “reproachful” sense, as his early friend says, the epithet “conservative.” “Froude”—we are told, and Newman was Froude’s friend and fellow—sole leader after Froude’s death, and till it had become evident that his own destination was Rome, of the movement which they had initiated together—“Froude was comparatively indifferent to the revolutionary action which would attend on the application of the principles” which Newman and himself made it their business to teach, “whereas, in the thoughts of Rose, as a practical man, existing facts had the precedence of every other idea.”

These considerations are sufficient to show that, as opposed to Newman and Froude, first, and afterwards to Newman, as sole guide and leader of the new movement, Rose would have had no chance whatever of influencing Oxford. The leaders of the new movement intended something with a new soul in it, and with unlimited capacity of development and extension. The motto of Rose, as of William Palmer, of Trinity College, Dublin, and of Worcester College, Oxford, who has written in part, as to one side and during certain stages, a very instructive history of the Tractarian movement, was *Stare super antiquas vias*—to go back to the Anglicanism of the seventeenth century.

Newman had not been brought up a High Churchman, but an Evangelical. He was in reality rather ignorant of Carolan Churchmanship, and never seems greatly to have cared for it. In abandoning his early evangelical principles, or, as he would call them, prejudices, he retained a vivid conviction of the reality of his evangelical conversion. This conviction

abode with him through all his changing phases and subsequent developments of opinion. He was, and he has remained through life, "more certain of his inward conversion than that he had hands and feet." The writer who made a deeper impression on his mind than any other, and to whom, he tells us, "humanly speaking," he "almost owes his soul," was the evangelical commentator, "Thomas Scott, of Aston Sandford." With these experiences and memories graven on his consciousness, the writer of the *Apologia* came to Oxford. Here, in contact with the influences of the place, he gradually exchanged Low Church for High Church views. But, not being at the time a man of either much learning or trained habits of logical investigation, he leaped impulsively to extremes, as shallow evangelical Christians, who exchange any of their original distinctive principles or prejudices for any one High Church principle or view, are very apt to do. That able and guarded High Churchman, Provost Hawkins, the Provost of his College, seems to have given him the first impulse which, not by any means necessarily, but because of the unfurnished and untrained condition of his own mind, and because of his natural susceptibility of temperament, set him distinctly on the road to the theology of mere tradition and development. The Provost taught him, what many Low Churchmen overlook, the office and worth of tradition, especially as in the first instance the one primitive and oral teacher of Christian doctrine. Not perceiving that the truth in this view left intact the authority of Scripture as the surest and only unerring test of primitive doctrine, Newman lost his interest in the Bible Society, and soon after withdrew his name from the list of subscribers. Thus he started on the way to Rome—not really on the way to Carolan Anglicanism. Bramhall and Andrewes and Laud were not his masters; he had not been brought up in their school, and he never greatly took to them. Thomas Scott was more to him than they were. High and dry Anglicanism was not congenial to him; he had been introduced to the life of conscious salvation; he believed in high and rapt religious experience. He had no admiration for a ponderous machinery of religious externalism, and no personal taste for mere brilliance

of ritual display. His loving contemplation and desire went back, not to the *origines* of the Church of England as purged and reformed, though he might fall back on them as an intermediate study and a proximate guide and authority—but to the earliest ages of the Church, the ages of primitive (or quasi-primitive) zeal, of the grand historical victories and development of Christianity, of the great Church Councils, when Catholic doctrine was defined and determined. He was bent upon identifying himself and his Christianity with the grand course of Christian history and development. Having taken the postulates of externalism with him from the beginning of his inquiries and speculations—having missed the only true solution of the question of the Church's continuity and unity—it was a foregone conclusion that he could not eventually find any resting-place till he was constrained to seek refuge in Rome. To the man of independent and fearless mind, the consistent Anglo-Catholic, who, at any cost, will work out his principles to their conclusions, it is impossible that he should remain shut up within the barriers of Anglicanism, as if that were the “happy valley” from which he might in tranquillity survey the whole schismatic universe of Christianity around him—on the one hand, schismatic Nonconformity; on the other, schismatic and corrupt Roman Catholicism, with the incommensurable Eastern Churches far away in the dreamy distance. Newman was, at heart, a mystic; was, both in religion and philosophy, a transcendentalist; was a genius, a poet, a dreamer; was, in virtue of his devotion, his enthusiasm, his industry, his unique charm as preacher, a charm which had in it authority, suggestiveness, ecstasy, as well as unequalled power of phrase and style, of his asceticism, and his combination of unworldliness with knowledge of character, with tact of management and influence, with subtlety of adaptation to worldly conditions, the absolute and unquestioned master, the admired and almost adored disposer, of a multitude of earnest and enthusiastic spirits. Such a man, with such followers, could never have coalesced with Hugh James Rose, nor, able as Rose was, and much more widely read as a theologian and as a European scholar than Newman, was it possible that he could ever have prevented the supremacy of Newman, least of

all in Oxford. Dean Burgon's idolatry of Rose, and his attempt to show that he, and not Newman, might and was admirably fitted to have been the leader of the High Church revival, we look upon as very strong evidence of the limited *calibre* of the Dean himself. The worship of Carolan Anglicanism will never reanimate the Church of England. With all his errors, Newman was far too large and gifted a man to be reduced to contemplate such an aim. We lament with bitter grief for England and the Church of England the effects of his influence, and still more of the deadlier influence exercised within the Church of England by his friend and early co-worker, Dr. Pusey. The joint result is that a fatal leaven of essentially Romish doctrine, of Romish corruption, has taken deep hold of England. England will, we doubt not, yet be deeply shaken by the controversies that must result. Agnosticism and unbelief have been very greatly strengthened. The Church of England will probably be disestablished, not because of outward assault, but of internal errors and schism, and, being thus disestablished, will be divided into two distinct Churches; all this, we fear, is likely to happen.* All this perhaps must happen, if ever the implicated superstitions and corruptions which now deform and consume the life of the Church are to be purged out. One thing at least is certain—Revived Laudianism will never save the Church of England or command the allegiance of the English nation.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the grand work for his Church in the matter of national education—of public elementary schools—which was accomplished by the intelligent and resolute earnestness, the courage, and the munificent

* In the *Guardian* for February 27 last, the Rev. Mr. Enraght writes a letter criticizing the Bishop of Liverpool's recent address on the subject of the Sacrament and Sacramental Superstitions—which address has been a bitter pill for the Romanizing section of the clergy to which Mr. Enraght belongs. In this letter Mr. Enraght, with characteristic modesty and decency, speaks of the dislike felt towards "the Eucharistic sacrifice" by "the Bishop of Liverpool in common with his co-religionists." It seems accordingly that Mr. Enraght has already decreed an ecclesiastical separation between Evangelical Churchmen, the "Bishop and his co-religionists," and himself and *his* "co-religionists." Dissenters could not have been more distinctly cut away from Church communion. That phrase speaks volumes.

example, of modest and in many respects undistinguished Richard Greswell, one of a remarkable family of brothers who became clergymen, one of whom was the well-known harmonist of Scripture history. Nor can we, as we should have much liked to do, cull any facts or extracts from the interesting sketch of the life of Henry Octavius Coxe, the accomplished librarian of the Bodleian, who was still more godly and loving as a Christian than he was admirable and accomplished as an almost unrivalled librarian. Nor can we deal with any of the other records—of Richard Lynch Cotton, the “humble Christian” Provost of Worcester College, who died at the age of eighty-six; of cautious, reserved, modest, faithful Bishop Jacobson, the “single-minded bishop;” of Charles Page Eden, the “earnest parish priest.” We can only give one line to express our final judgment that no more interesting volume of memoirs has been published for many a year than this posthumous work of Dean Burgon.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Pastoral Epistles. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

DR. PLUMMER'S work is a solid and valuable addition to the "Expositor's Bible" Series. The exposition is of course founded upon minute study of the text, and is eminently thoughtful, sober, and moderate. The Epistles are thoroughly practical in their contents, and Dr. Plummer's is a thoroughly practical mind. The Anglican Church, with its *via media* and spirit of compromise, has in him quite a typical representative. The argument for Episcopacy is made somewhat too prominent. Undoubtedly Church-organization is one of the chief subjects of the Epistles; but if the exposition should lead any one to suppose that the theory expounded in chapter x. is drawn from the Epistles, it would seriously mislead. On page 112 we read: "The evidence points to the conclusion that Christians in the latter part of the second century were fully persuaded that the episcopal form of government had prevailed in the different Churches from the apostles' time to their own." "Episcopal form of government" is a phrase that will cover all the stages of development through which the system passed from the first stage in the Acts to the last one in our days. Certainly the author only says "points to the conclusion." The Churchiness comes out most strongly in a paragraph on page 267, which is scarcely in place. But on the whole there is little to complain of in this respect. Even on this delicate subject the author is very fair and moderate in tone. And this is true still more of questions where no ecclesiastical interest is at stake. We could give many examples in the comments on heresy, ordination, and similar points. On page 219 he points out at length that "ordain" has the neutral sense of "appoint." "The Greek words might equally well be used of the appointment of a magistrate or steward." Again, it is noted that there no parallel is drawn between the threefold ministry in the Old Testament and a threefold ministry in the Christian Church. The parallel was drawn early, but it is not scriptural. "The fact that we do not find it in any of these epistles, nor even any material out of which it could be constructed, confirms us in the belief that these letters belong to the first century and not to the second." "The husband of one wife" is understood to forbid a second marriage to presbyter

or bishop. What, then, is the defence of neglecting this rule? "There is nothing to show that St. Paul is giving rules which are to bind the Church for all time." Very good. Surely the same freedom is permissible *à fortiori* respecting a church polity, which is not even mentioned in Scripture. In expounding "the household of Onesiphorus," the author understands that Onesiphorus was dead, and argues for a limited use of prayers for the dead. "The laver of regeneration" is strongly held to teach baptismal regeneration. The author everywhere advocates frank acceptance of the established results of criticism, as in "who was manifested" (1 Tim. iii. 16) and "every inspired Scripture" (2 Peter i. 20). There are many excellent expositions and discussions, as of the influence of Christianity on ancient slavery, the use of profane literature, and the spirit of sobriety. Dr. Plummer also accepts a tolerably broad doctrine of inspiration. "Inspiration does not preserve the inspired writers from *every* kind of mistake. That it guards them from error in respect to matters of faith and morality, we may well believe; but whether it does more than this remains to be proved."

As is well known, the authenticity of these epistles is sharply attacked. Besides devoting the first chapter to a defence, the author maintains a running defence on this subject throughout his exposition. These incidental evidences are well brought out, and they are the more effective because the arguments of the assailants are drawn chiefly from the contents of the epistles. Again and again the author points out the high improbability of forgery. Chapter xxxv., dealing with the personal references in 2 Tim. iv. 9-15, 19-21, is an excellent specimen of apology. "It would scarcely be exceeding the limits of legitimate hyperbole to say that these two passages prove the authenticity and genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles; that they are sufficient to show that these letters are an authentic account of the matters of which they treat, and that they are genuine letters of the Apostle Paul." The Second Epistle to Timothy is especially shown to be stamped with all the Apostle's characteristics. "We have St. Paul with his exquisite sympathy, sensitiveness, and affection; his intense anxiety, his unflinching courage. We have the solemnity and importunity of one who knows that his days are numbered. And we have the urgency and tenderness of one who writes to a friend who has his faults and weaknesses, but who is trusted and loved in spite of them." Dr. Plummer may well say: "The person who forged this epistle in the name of St. Paul must indeed have been a genius."

University Sermons, New and Old. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D.,
Dean of Llandaff. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

For more than a quarter of a century Dean Vaughan has repeatedly been Select Preacher at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and the present volume contains a selection from the sermons preached on the occasions when he has filled that honourable office. The characteristics of Dr. Vaughan as a

preacher are too well known for us to dwell on them, and in the case of one so respected and beloved, without as well as within the pale of his own Church, eulogy would be out of place. Clear, simple, but never shallow; devout, thoughtful, evangelical in the best and broadest sense of the word, Dr. Vaughan as a preacher has delighted audiences of the most varied kinds, in the parish church, the Temple, and the University pulpits. The present volume gives fair specimens of a ministry always fresh without any straining after originality, always edifying without sinking into the conventional and commonplace.

Of course there is inequality in thirty-three sermons, extending over a period of nearly as many years. Some of those before us, taken by themselves, would not greatly impress the reader, while others are forcible and striking. That on "Exaggeration and Excitement" is an admirable illustration of sober earnestness, and the following one, on "Scorn a breach of the Sixth Commandment," reminds us in some respects of Newman's early sermons. There is a pathos in the last two sermons—"closing a large and long chapter of my life"—on "Incompleteness" and "Lessons of Age," which would appeal even more forcibly to those who listened to the preacher—as, in one case, it was our privilege to do—than to those who read the printed page. We are thankful that evangelical preachers as broad and cultured as Dean Vaughan are found amongst us, and trust their number will not diminish in the course of the next generation. A slight but strange omission in this volume is the absence of any table of contents or list of the several discourses.

The Book of Isaiah. Vol. I., Isaiah i.—xxxix. By the Rev. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

This is a striking volume, and will be helpful in teaching preachers how to impart freshness and a sense of reality to their expositions, whilst maintaining a reverent regard for the prophetic inspiration. Nevertheless, it seems to us that Mr. Smith in one part of his book reduces the gift of the prophet unduly in its character and range, and so as to come perilously near to the view which allows nothing more to the seer than insight into principles and pre- vision of their working and effect. Surely the distinct power of foretelling particular events is claimed by Isaiah, even in the name of God, again and again. We could have desired also that the exposition here given had kept closer to the sentences of the prophecies, and to their varying current and colour of thought.

Jeremiah: His Life and Times. By the Rev. Canon T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

In this volume of the "Men of the Bible" Series we see Canon Cheyne in one respect almost at his best. It is a tender, sympathetic volume, full of

truly Christian feeling. But his rationalism is very bold. As to the general character of Canon Cheyne as a Biblical critic we have given our view, perhaps too favourably, certainly in no temper of severe criticism, in the opening article of our present number. Our readers will not be surprised to learn that he considers the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy not tenable. Far be it from us to accept that conclusion, or to suppose that sound criticism will allow Canon Cheyne's verdict on this, any more than on many other subjects, to be accepted as final. It must always be remembered, however, that with his rationalism, like not a few German critics, Canon Cheyne combines a sincere and devout faith in Jesus Christ and His resurrection, in the reality of Divine Grace, and in supernaturalism as bound up with Christianity.

The Hallowing of Criticism. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Canon of Rochester. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

The title of this volume may mislead. It applies chiefly to a paper therein printed, on Biblical criticism, which was read at the last Church Congress in Manchester. The bulk of the volume consists of nine sermons on Elijah, preached in Rochester Cathedral. These are supposed in some sense to illustrate the principles laid down in the paper ; but, with all respect to Canon Cheyne, we fail to see much connection between the addresses, slight in texture, on the history of Elijah, and the plea urged in his paper for the acceptance of the results of advanced Biblical critics, provided these are "hallowed" by a right spirit. We cannot, in a brief notice, discuss the large questions raised in the Congress paper. The spirit of the writer is admirable, the counsel not to be afraid of historical and scientific criticism is sound and good, but the positions which Canon Cheyne would have us accept are more than open to question. Our business is, however, to comment on the sermons, which form nine-tenths of the volume, and of these we can only say that they are thoughtful and interesting, with appropriate application to the circumstances of the present day. As sermons, however, they can lay no claim to a place in the front rank, and as an exposition of Elijah's ministry and work, we have not found them anything like so suggestive as Professor Milligan's little volume on the *Life and Times of Elijah*, published last year.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By MARCUS DODS, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

The latest contribution to the remarkably cheap half-crown series of volumes known as "The Theological Educator." Dr. Dods has packed an immense quantity of information on his important subject into little more than 200 pages. He writes like one who is fully master of his theme, and gives an admirably succinct view of the opinions of modern scholars and the results of

the latest criticism, in relation to the books of the New Testament. Our chief complaint is that the author so often appears himself to be in an attitude of masterly suspense of judgment, and leaves his readers in the same position. A greater definiteness is required in a popular handbook of this sort. But we can heartily recommend the book as a compendium of information upon an important and complex subject.

The Land of Darkness. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

The author of *The Little Pilgrim* here furnishes some further imaginative sketches of the invisible world. They are marked, we think, by even more power of imagination than similar previous papers of the gifted writer. In saying this, we are not blind to the inevitable defects of all such attempts. It is the easiest thing possible to criticize efforts of this kind. There are always gaps and holes in the canvas, as well as necessary flaws in the painting. But only a writer of high imaginative ability could have written the description of the world of the lost contained in the first of these papers. The hells of the selfish, the avaricious, the sensual, of Godless art and of Godless science are vividly portrayed, without any sensational straining after effect. Particularly striking is the description of the ineffable torture occasioned by the name and the thought of God amongst the unhappy denizens of these cities of the lost.

The latter papers are not in our judgment so successful. In a work of this kind we ought not, we suppose, to look for "orthodoxy," but, without judging this volume by a theological standard, it ought, as a work of art, to be true to itself in its description of the way in which a passage from the Land of Darkness to the realms of light becomes possible. There is a good deal of powerful writing in the description of the mountains across which the journey is ultimately effected, but there is no moral verisimilitude—if we may use such an expression—in the author's account of the state of mind which leads to the attempt to find God or the way in which the attempt is carried out. The Land of Darkness is represented as a land without hope, but not beyond the reach of Divine love. Yet its inhabitants are without any drawings of the Divine Spirit and beyond all reach and influence of the blessed who long for their recovery. Those who are represented as escaping appear to stumble or blindly grope into a way which, as they confess, they do not know. The effect of books of this kind is by no means an unmixed good, but valuable moral lessons are conveyed by the former half of the present one, and the whole, as we have said, displays great imaginative power.

Colloquies on Preaching. By HENRY TWELLS, M.A., Honorary Canon of Peterborough Cathedral, Rector of Waltham, and Rural Dean. London : Longmans. 1889.

Canon Twells is evidently a man of liberal spirit, of open mind, of wide practical knowledge, and of excellent common sense. Few clergymen, we

suppose, could be found who know so much of preachers and preaching, and of the conditions which environ the work of preaching, alike in town and country, among Churchmen and Dissenters—not omitting Salvation Army work—as our “rural dean.” He has given us in this volume an interesting, and at times racy and entertaining, collection of colloquies. He makes no pretence to profundity, but the practical good sense and the admirable candour of the “colloquies” make his book very valuable, especially as proceeding from a Church dignitary. The lessons taught are probably more suitable for parish clergymen than for Nonconformist ministers; yet these, too, may learn valuable lessons from the book, especially as to the spirit which a Christian minister, of whatever denomination, should cherish towards rival forms of spiritual work. Some of the dialogues are between rustics, and give their criticisms of preaching. Almost all classes, indeed, are represented in the colloquies. We cannot but be struck with the fact, very evident from this book, that, while among Nonconformists, and even among Methodists, reading sermons seems to be coming into not infrequent use, it is becoming less frequent, and extemporaneous preaching is gradually taking its place, in the pulpits of the Church of England. The lessons of this volume are decidedly in favour of extemporaneous preaching as the ordinary rule in the pulpit, and as much more efficacious for all purposes of spiritual impression than the read manuscript on the pulpit desk. We can heartily recommend these colloquies as affording interesting and suggestive views of opinions on the subjects of preaching held by all sorts and conditions of men and women.

Forty Coming Wonders, between 1888–9 and 1901, as foreseen in the Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations.
 With Quotations from the Expositions of Archbishop Cyprian, the late Duke of Manchester, &c.; with Illustrations and Six Appendices. Sixth Edition. Fiftieth Thousand. By the Rev. M. BAXTER, Editor of the *Christian Herald*. London: Christian Herald Office.

This book is evidently dear to a wonder-loving age. Its first edition appeared in 1866, but it is still alive. That is to us a greater wonder than any of Mr. Baxter's forty. Poor Prince Jerome! Does that unfortunate chief of the Bonapartists relish the eminence which is accorded him here as the Antichrist. It seems that the Rev. R. A. Purdon in his *Last Vials* designated the prince, who was then a General of Division in the Crimean war, to this dignity. In 1873, Mr. Baxter himself turned his attention to the unlucky Bonaparte. He gave five prophetic reasons for expecting him to supersede the late Prince Imperial as the head of the dynasty, and claims that the sad event in Zululand in 1879, which realized that prophecy, is a “most

remarkable corroboration of the correctness of the principles of interpretation upon which this prophetic anticipation was grounded." The course of coming events is thus outlined. "First of all, a victorious war of France against Germany, or a revolution in Germany, will powerfully promote a series of changes in Europe, so as to transform Cæsar's original Roman Empire into exactly *ten kingdoms*, united in a confederacy, and corresponding with the *ten toes* of Daniel's prophetic image, and ten horns of his symbolic wild beast (Dan. ii. 41-44; vii. 24). These *ten* will in the main be Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Greece, Egypt, Syria, Thracian-Turkey, and Bulgaria with Roumania. Already the separating of *Bulgaria* from Thracian-Turkey in 1877 has been a step towards this." The age is to end, such is the accuracy to which the science of prophetic interpretation has been reduced by Mr. Baxter and his friends, on the last day of Passover Week, April 11, 1901. The extraordinary European wars which are to usher in the end are to begin not later than 1888-9, and include especially the victory of France over Germany, and her extension to the Rhine. The whole twelve or thirteen years are strewn with wonders of which this book professes to be the chart. Any one who wishes to see the vagaries to which a good man may be led by concentrating his thought on the insoluble mysteries of the Book of the Revelation will here find painful illustrations in abundance. One sentence in the preface shows that, however misguided, the writer's purpose is good. "The prayers of God's people are requested for the influence of the Holy Spirit and the Divine blessing to accompany the circulation and perusal of this book." Forty illustrations grouped together at the beginning of the volume, some "copied from ancient Bibles in the British Museum Library," afford pictorial views of the future. Here may be seen the "Resurrection and Ascension of Saints from a churchyard at Christ's Second Advent, about March 5, 1896—seventeen months before Antichrist's three and a half years' persecution begins." The White Horse, the Red Horse, and many other symbolical figures are also represented. One of the most grotesque of the pictures represents the "Plague of 200 million lion-headed fire-breathing demon-horses from the bottomless pit, beridden by demon cavalry-men, killing the third part of mankind during 391 days, from Dec. 23, 1898, to Jan. 18, 1900." We have said enough to show the character of this absurd and mischievous volume. *Our* prayer is, that it may not do harm. Perhaps its very absurdity may act as a safeguard. We ought to add that a prophetic calendar maps out in detail the course of events from 1889 to 1901.

The Baptism of the Spirit and other Sermons. By CHARLES NEW. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

Mr. New is a Congregational minister at Hastings, whose influence as an evangelical preacher and pastor has been for some years deservedly great. These sermons appear to be fair specimens of his ordinary ministry, and happy is the congregation that has the opportunity of listening regularly to dis-

courses so faithful, earnest, and useful. There is little or no ornament about them, but abundance of Scripture truth, carefully thought out and earnestly applied. We cannot always agree with Mr. New's exposition, the first sermon in the volume being unfortunately founded upon a misunderstanding of Acts xix. 2—"Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?"—a mistake which the Revised Version should have sufficed to correct. But Mr. New's sermons cannot fail to profit a wider audience of readers, as they have doubtless already profited the audiences who listened to them on delivery.

The Sabbatical Rest of God and Man; an Exposition of Hebrews iv. 3-9. By the Rev. JOHN HUGHES, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

The essay has many excellent features. The author has the genuine Welsh theological faculty. Many good points are well touched—the Finality of the Gospel, the Sabbatical Rest of Creation, God in Christ the Mediator, the Sabbatical Rest Now and Hereafter, the Beatific Vision of God in Christ, the Rest in Heaven a State of Active Service. At the same time, we feel that the subject is too narrow for such wide expatiation. The thought as well as the expression is drawn out too much. If the author will apply his evidently well-trained powers to subjects affording more material and wider scope, he will do still better work.

Outlines of Sermons for Special Occasions. By Eminent Preachers. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

This new volume of "The Clerical Library" is made up of gleanings from leading preachers of the Church of England and Nonconformity. It is not easy to distinguish the author of any outline, but doubtless it gives a sense of restfulness and satisfaction to those who find them useful to know that they are well culled. The matter is interesting, and is arranged in eighteen sections for convenient reference. Seasons of the year and Christian festivals are of course provided for. There are sermons for the afflicted, bereaved, and troubled; for funerals and for charities, for young men, students, parents; sermons on temperance and on giving. This is a wide field, and there is plenty of good matter to set a diligent or a busy man thinking. The arrangement is far from perfect. "Harvest" slips in between Easter and Whit Sundays, Spring and the New Year come later and separated from each other. Young men and students might with advantage have kept closer company. We fail to discern any principle of arrangement. It is a pity, too, to put first in the book a homily on "The Debt of Love." The text is "Owe no man anything, but to love one another." Why the preacher chose it—it is evidently a Westminster Abbey sermon—he might know, but we cannot see at all. He turns his back on it sturdily save for one forced reference which he had much better have spared his congregation. We must in justice say that this is by no means a fair sample of the outlines.

The Sermon Bible : 1 Kings to Psalm lxxvi. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

This volume of the *Sermon Bible* covers a wide stretch of ground, as its title-page will show. The introduction gives some brief but useful suggestions as to the best commentaries on each book. Then come the notes for sermons. They are new and old. Some are by the best-known preachers, others have less familiar names attached. The texts illustrated are generally those which would be most naturally selected, and the more popular subjects are most fully treated, twelve pages being given to the Twenty-third Psalm and four to the words in Nehemiah, "The joy of the Lord is your strength." The volume is neatly bound and well printed.

Beyond the Stars ; or, Heaven, Its Inhabitants, Occupations, and Life. By THOMAS HAMILTON, D.D., Belfast. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1888.

Dr. Hamilton endeavours to tell in plain and popular language all that the Bible reveals about the other life. The chapters of his book were delivered as a course of Sunday evening lectures. Their evident usefulness as thus delivered suggested their publication. After a brief introductory chapter, setting forth the interest and importance of the subject, Dr. Hamilton discusses the place, the king, the ministers, messengers, and subjects of the king. "Little Ones in Heaven," "Do they Know one another in Heaven," "Common Objections to the Doctrine of Recognition in Heaven," "Between Death and the Resurrection," and "How to get There," are the titles of the other chapters. This bare enumeration will show how many profound subjects are discussed here. The tone of the book is admirable ; devout and modest throughout. The important chapter on the interval between death and the resurrection, ably pleads for the immediate entrance of the believer into heaven as soon as the soul is separated from the body, and interprets Peter's hard saying to mean the Spirit's influence on Noah's contemporaries during the hundred and twenty years of grace. We heartily welcome this devout and interesting volume.

Christ and His People. By the BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL, and others. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

This volume contains thirteen sermons and addresses taken from the pages of the *Record* newspaper in 1887 and 1888. Besides Bishop Ryle, Dean Fremantle, Archdeacon Richardson, Prebendary Edmonds, the Rev. H. G. Moule, and other leaders of the Evangelical school in the Church of England, have contributed. The book is true to its title. The work and offices of Christ are powerfully set forth, and His relations to His people attractively

described. Those who have enjoyed the rich simplicity and helpfulness of Mr. Moule's devotional manuals will be glad to find five sermons by him. No one else has more than one. This is a book which cannot fail to deepen spirituality of mind and heart.

The Disciples' Prayer. Being Notes of Sermons on Our Lord's Prayer. By the Rev. J. N. GIBBON. London: Elliot Stock. 1888.

Mr. Gibbon treats the chief petitions and thoughts of the daily prayer of Christendom in eleven suggestive sermons, which have many felicities of language and of illustration. He interprets the petition, "Lead us not into temptation," as a request that we may be kept from the wish to enter into circumstances which would lead to sin. "Once for all, he makes deliverance from evil the standard by which all other wishes are to be tested." There is much to interest and profit every reader in this book.

Voices of the Spirit. By GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

Dr. Matheson aims by these *Voices of the Spirit* to aid the moments of devotional life. He has gone through the Bible, beginning with Genesis, and traced the influences which are ascribed to the Holy Spirit, and "endeavoured to photograph them in the light of devotion." The results are given in ninety-five little meditations, each about two pages in length, including the appropriate prayers with which they close. The idea is somewhat novel, and it is well worked out. Every phase of the Spirit's work is brought out in turn. Dr. Matheson's first sentence, in aiming at epigrammatic force, verges hard on heresy. "Before God said, 'Let there be light,' He said, 'Let there be Spirit.'" Did God then create the Spirit?

The Christian Doctrine of God. By J. S. CANDLISH, D.D. Handbooks for Bible Classes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

This little book is really the first part of a system of Christian doctrine expressed in untechnical language and giving results rather than processes. It deals with Christian belief about God, or Theology strictly. We infer that similar treatises will deal with the doctrines bearing on man, salvation, the church, and the future state. The First Part discusses God's existence, creation, providence, and the divine attributes; the Second, God's moral attributes; the Third, the Trinity. Christian views are throughout compared with the teachings of other religious systems. The style is simple and clear. Much thought and information are packed into small space. The work would make an excellent text-book for Bible classes.

Daniel: His Life and Times. By H. DEANE, B.D. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

Mr. Deane's work is a worthy addition to the "Men of the Bible" Series. The author has used all available means for illustrating his subject—Lenzerke, Maspero, Schrader, Lenormant, Sayce. It seems that he lectured on the Book of Daniel at Oxford in connection with Dr. Pusey, and the present work is an expansion of these lectures. The positions maintained with much intelligence and clearness, in relation to Daniel's prophecy, are those of Dr. Pusey's well-known work. In the eighteen chapters of this manual students and teachers will find a very full digest of all that is known about the prophet's life, education, and work.

The Biblical Illustrator. By the Rev. J. S. EXELL, M.A. (1) *Galatians.* (2) *Ephesians.* London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

1. The principle on which *The Biblical Illustrator* is compiled has already been explained in these pages. Mr. Exell here devotes more than 500 closely printed pages, equal to at least 1000 of ordinary type, to one short epistle of six chapters. He has gathered together a vast quantity of sermon-outlines, anecdotes and illustrations of all kinds, intended to aid in the exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians. We cannot profess to admire this kind of labour-saving apparatus, but it is undoubtedly very popular at present, and, if wisely used, may be very serviceable, particularly to lay-preachers and Sunday-school teachers. If such work is to be attempted, it is at least carefully and well done by Mr. Exell. He has laid under contribution writers of all kinds, and inserts extracts of all sizes, sometimes consisting only of a line or two, sometimes extending to more than a page. The comments seem to us to be on the whole judiciously chosen, generally from evangelical writers, and, for the most part, those of this century.

2. There is a great mass of information in the volume on the letter to the Ephesians, which will be exceedingly useful to all who make it a foundation for personal research and study. The best commentaries and sermons on the epistle have been laid under contribution; anecdotes and illustrations culled from all sources are here ready to hand for the preacher and teacher. The work has been skilfully done, and, properly used, will be of great service.

The Homilist: The Expositor, Preacher, and Reviewer. Edited by D. THOMAS, D.D., and the Rev. J. J. S. BIRD, B.A. Volume LIX. London : Houlston & Sons. 1888.

The monthly numbers of the *Homilist* deal with a wide range of subjects, Biblical, Theological, Sermonic. The articles are condensed in style, but

readable and suggestive. The annual volume forms a kind of pulpit cyclopaedia. Its neat binding and good print make it a handsome addition to a preacher's library.

Pen Pictures from the Life of Christ. By the Rev. JOHN CULLEN, M.A., Vicar of Radcliffe-on-Trent. London : Dickinson. 1889.

Mr. Cullen has gathered together here twenty-four sermons on various incidents in the life of Our Lord. They are simple, practical, and earnest—just the discourses to impress and instruct an ordinary congregation. The preacher shoots over no one's head, but makes the Gospel scenes and stories full of living counsel and help.

Flashes from the Welsh Pulpit. Edited by the Rev. J. GWYNORE DAVIES. With an Introductory Paper by the Rev. T. C. EDWARDS, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

The quotations in this book, drawn from preachers of all churches, bear witness to the power of illustration, the fiery earnestness, the careful exposition of Scripture and Christian doctrine which Mr. Davies regards as the chief features of the Welsh pulpit. They are well fitted to suggest thought and adorn discourse. We notice on page 103 Butler's *Analogy* is called "Analysis." Principal Edwards, in his introductory paper which was read at the recent Pan-Presbyterian Council, speaks of the narrow range of reading among Welsh ministers in the first half of this century. Theology was dying of asphyxia, but happily a stream of fresh air has been blowing in upon it of late from all quarters. He thinks that the greatest danger of the present day is that the sense of sin is not keen among the Welsh people. His antidote is the only real cure—to bring the infinite beauty and majesty of our Lord's life to bear on the conscience and heart.

David : the Man after God's own Heart. A Book for Young Men. By the Rev. H. E. STONE. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1889.

Mr. Stone has gathered together twenty-two of his sermons at Nottingham which present many phases in the life of the minstrel king. He says some good things in a manly way, and the interest of the subject will secure his volume a welcome in Christian homes. It is, we think, defective in its slight reference to the Psalms, and Mr. Stone should revise the pages which deal with David's lament over Absalom. To speak of his entire absence of resig-

nation to God's will, and to describe his "Would God I had died for thee" as his petulant wish and foolish complaint, seems to show a strange lack of insight into one of the most memorable and pathetic scenes of David's life.

Words of Life: Sermons on Christian Doctrine, Experience, and Duty. By DAVID MERSON, M.A., B.D. London: Dickinson. 1889.

Mr. Merson's modest little preface states that these sermons are selected from his first ten years' ministry to a village congregation among the hills of Northumberland. The Presbyterians of Stamfordham have evidently had a spiritually minded man amongst them, a clear thinker, a wide reader, and a careful expositor. There is no meretricious display here, but the sermons are true food for mind and heart. We have formed a high opinion of the preacher and his work from this set of discourses.

The Acts of the Apostles to the Revelation. Being supplementary to the Four Holy Gospels according to the Authorized Version. By the Rev. EDWARD T. CARDALE, late Rector of Uckfield. London: Rivingtons. 1889.

Mr. Cardale has for many years been impressed with the importance of using capital letters to mark the pronouns which refer to the Divine Persons in Holy Scripture. He has used the enforced leisure of his late years to accomplish this task. Many passages of the Bible are thus made clear to the reader's eye, so that the proper emphasis is more readily given. The New Testament forms two neat volumes, with type printed in two parallel columns. This has evidently been a labour of love, and will be helpful to many devout students of God's word.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

1. *Life of Lamartine.* By Lady MARGARET DOMVILLE. London: Kegan Paul.
2. *Memoirs of the Count de Falloux.* From the French. Edited by A. B. PITMAN. Two vols. London: Chapman & Hall.
1. VERY few of us really care for French poetry. That of which Victor Hugo's is the type we call bombastic. That which is in the style of *Jocelyn* [No. CXLII.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. XII. NO. 1. M

and the *Méditations* we pooh-pooh as "namby-pamby," and our judgment on their writings affects our estimate of the writers. Lamartine, for instance, we think of as a vainglorious sentimentalist, quite overlooking the fact that, although he might talk as Englishmen would seldom care to do, he showed in two or three crises of his life a rare energy and a still rarer power of influencing others. An instance of Lamartine's power of moving men was displayed at the Revolution of 1848. Then he, the hereditary Royalist, who had actually shed blood in Louis XVIII.'s cause during the Hundred Days, declared for a republic, "nothing else," he insisted, "could save France from anarchy and communism." Certainly Louis Philippe was not a king to die for. He had counted on the *bourgeoisie*, and, believing they had turned against him, he gave way. "Sire, n'abdiquez pas! Mettez-vous à la tête de vos troupes," implored the Queen, but in vain. Thiers, with a weakness that contrasts strangely with his ferocious resolve not to come to terms with the Commune in 1871, rushed into the Chamber, threw up his arms, cried "The flood is rising," and disappeared from public life. For a moment the Chamber seemed likely to vote for the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, and had Lamartine spoken in her favour she would undoubtedly have won the day. "Why didn't I do so? the words were on my tongue," he wrote some time after; "but I argued that the success would only have been temporary. We were bound, I thought, to call on the whole nation to decide as to its future government." His voting for the Provisional Government undoubtedly gave the republic a start; but his republic was very different from that, not only of the mob, but also of several of his colleagues, notably of Arago—for in this, as in the old Revolution, the mathematicians took a prominent part. When the Government, such as it was, was installed in the Hôtel de Ville, they were beset with a wild mob, firing in at the lower windows, howling treason, threatening to throw the Ministry out into the street. All the eight tried to speak, but one after the other were roared down. Lamartine went, made seven speeches from the steps of the town-hall, and at last, by one of his ready replies, he made a momentary impression. "Down with Lamartine! we won't listen to him; we want his head," was the cry, to which the answer came: "Yes, you're quite right. You do want my head. Things would go on ever so much better if it was on your shoulders." Everybody burst out laughing; and everybody wanted to shake hands with the speaker. But next day the trial was more severe. All through the night the Anarchists had been haranguing the people, telling them Lamartine would betray them as Lafayette had done. Processions kept bringing up those who had been killed at the barricades, and laying their ghastly burdens in the courtyard. The Ministry had been sitting all night, with no food but a bucket of water and a loaf of black bread and half a bottle of wine which they found in the guard-room. Towards midday a vast crowd bore down upon the place, shouting "Le drapeau rouge; nous voulons le drapeau rouge." Lamartine, who had been lying exhausted on the floor, sprang to his feet, ran out, and began his famous seven

hours' speech, for, as fast as he moved one section of the crowd, by pointing out that the day before they had set up a temporary government for the purpose of consulting France as to the future, and to settle things now would simply be to stultify themselves, another forced itself to the front, amid cries of "A bas Lamartine! Vive le drapeau rouge," and the work had to be done over again. "We won't have the red flag," shouted Lamartine, "the tricolour has carried round the world the liberties and triumphs of Republic and Empire. The red flag has only been round the Champ de Mars, drenched with Frenchmen's blood." Several times he was in extreme peril. "There seemed," as Lady Domville says, "but a hair's-breadth between him and the fate of Foulon." Once he was badly wounded in the hand with a pike-thrust. Then a rush was made at him, and he was only saved by a man in a beggar's dress, who threw himself between him and his assailants, called him his brother, the saviour of the people, blessed him, and actually won a hearing for him. At last the men of violence were silenced, and the tricolour, which had been torn down, floated once more over the great gates. Well may Lady Domville call the man who went through such a scene "the Bayard of civic contest." "Were you not afraid when that raging mob was howling for your head?" he was asked years afterwards. "Yes, for a moment; but, when I laid my hand on the lion's mane and felt it quiver under my touch, I felt sure I should conquer." During all this time the Provisional Government had plenty on its hands. The railway stations were destroyed, and, traffic being impossible, starvation was imminent; the museums had to be protected; 300,000 insurgents had to be persuaded to go back to work; the *management* of such men as Raspail, Cobet, Blanqui. One of the most practical and successful of Lamartine's acts was the formation of the Garde Mobile. He thereby enlisted on the side of order the young and restless spirits, who would else have been the prey of the fanatical leaders. Indeed, on April 14, nothing but the staunchness of these young volunteers, enabling the National Guard to come down in force, saved Paris from the establishment of a Commune. We have given this episode at some length, because it is the most important in Lamartine's life. Naturally, the French royalist party took a far less favourable view of Lamartine than Lady Domville does. M. de Falloux, for instance, repeats the old calumny that, in the private deliberations of the Provisional Government, Lamartine voted for the red flag, on the principle that "every new situation demands a new symbol," but, being outvoted, gave in, and used his eloquence dead against his own convictions. His verdict is that, instead of being "a politician who for a short time lost himself in poetry" (Lamartine's own view of himself), "he was a poet who lost himself in politics." Of his attitude under the Second Empire, and his second visit to the East, there is no time to say anything. Everybody knows how his carelessness led him at the close of life into grave money difficulties. Like Sir W. Scott, he bravely worked on, trusting to his books to clear off all difficulties. In 1848 he spent money like water (his own, not the State's), chiefly in preventing

risings (one of these "pacifications" cost him 75,000 francs). After three months in office his debts amounted to three million francs. "Sell some of your land," said Mirès, Pereira, and other financial friends, "and give up your foolish habit of buying up your tenants' wine, and we'll advance you money." But Lamartine would not. Neilly and Monceau and St. Point were to him what Abbotsford was to Sir Walter; but, less happy than the great novelist, he saw all these places sold, and his household limited to the simple little salon of the Rue Ville l'Evêque. Still he worked to the last, and the *Cours d'Entretiens Littéraires*, one of the periodicals which made him merely a bookseller's hack, kept up its 30,000 subscribers, paying so well that before darkness overshadowed his intellect he had cleared off all his debts.

2. The Comte de Falloux's book is very useful in forming an estimate of the behaviour of the Legitimists at several recent crises. In 1848, hatred of Louis Philippe threw them for the moment into the arms of the republicans. In March 1848 the Marchionesses of the Faubourg St. Germain joined with the wives of Dupont de l'Eure, Ledru Rollin, &c., in a *quête* for the distressed work-people; Pope Pius gave in his adhesion to the new Government; the *Univers* asked, "Who dreams to-day of defending the monarchy? The Gallicans set up the divine right of kings; before and above them the Catholics have always proclaimed the divine right of the people." It was a strange sight—Lacordaire and De Ravignan preaching for and Montalembert welcoming the republic; and certainly the state of the Paris poor was pitiable enough to unite all parties in an effort for their welfare—no provident societies, miserably inadequate savings banks, no factory laws, no sanitary regulations. When M. de Falloux put before the Labour Committee a plan comprehending all these, the president, Goodchaux, threw up his hands despairingly, and cried, "You take away my breath. I'm drowned in this flood of innovations." Nothing was done except to close the national workshops, a measure which at once caused the horrible outbreak of June 1848, when feelings were so embittered that "at the Hôtel Dieu the wounded insurgents would crawl from their beds and fasten on a patient belonging to the National Guard, biting till the blood came." With the Prince President the Catholic difficulty was education. Falloux accepted office, but resigned through ill-health, and at the *Coup d'Etat* was arrested along with Berryer and the other heads of his party, and lodged in prison; but, after a few attempts to persuade the Count of Chambord to come forward, the party as a whole sided with Napoleon III. as "the saviour of society." Of later French politics down to the end of 1873 M. de Falloux gives an excellent summary. "The white flag" incident he, Legitimist as he is, thinks a deplorable mistake: "The Count of Chambord was hopelessly misinformed as to the state of French feeling, and when he paid that secret visit to Paris in 1873 he never went out and saw nobody." M. de Falloux sums up with the confession that, for the elder branch, "all is lost save conscience and honour." For the non-political reader his book has a large store of anecdotes, from

Lord Palmerston's comparison of Louis Napoleon's brain to a rabbit-warren, where his projects, like rabbits, bury themselves to avoid being meddled with, to Talleyrand's reply to a squinting statesman, who asked how things are going on, "Very crookedly, as you see." His stories of old manners, when the Anjou noblesse, at the time of the Duchess of Berri's rising, still travelled in ox-waggons, and when none but *Anglomanes* would substitute the English saddle for that of deerskin placed on a red velvet saddle-cloth, have about them a rare flavour of the *ancien régime*. One would like to have had a chat with the *métayer*, who, when Falloux asked him how he had been getting on while he was away, replied: "Ah, sir. God has gone shares with me like my landlord. I had six children; he has taken three." Among the characters whom he brings in one of the quaintest is the Marquis Eugène de Montmorency, afterwards Duke of Laval. Close upon sixty, he was very pious, and in Rome used to hear several masses a morning, giving a few pence to the choir boys to let him have their place. In Switzerland he called on Madame de Staël, introducing himself with: "I thought it my duty while at Geneva to pay my respects to my cousin's friend." "I am much indebted to *Corinne*, which doubtless inspired you with the idea of saying a kind word to an exile," was the lady's reply. "No, Madame; I have never read it, and shall astonish you by saying I shall never do so. Romantic literature is answerable for so much mischief." "But surely," retorted the authoress, "those gifted with imagination can no more help using it than you, born a Montmorency, can help being brave and courteous." "All comparisons limp, Madame. I cannot help being born a Montmorency; but those who have itching fingers can help dipping them in ink." *Lamartine* and *De Falloux* are exceptionally interesting books, and in illustrating alike the country life of the French noblesse and the intricacies of French politics, one helps out the other.

Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN.

Vol. XVII. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Vol. xvii. of the *Dictionary of National Biography* is largely taken up with the Edwards, most of whom are handled in abundant detail by the indefatigable Rev. W. Hunt. Whether or not a biographical dictionary should fill the place of a history is a question. Anyhow, the volume before us leaves little excuse for the monographs which our history students are as fond of multiplying as globe-trotters are of publishing their experiences. Mr. J. Gairdner contributes Edwards IV. and V.; Edward VI. is from the pen of Mr. S. L. Lee, who notes the heartlessness so often evinced in the young king's diary. Dr. Jessop devotes twenty-seven pages to an elaborate Life of Elizabeth, purposely dismissing in a few paragraphs her Irish policy—"not a pleasant subject to write upon." Brief as his reference to Ireland is, he manages to make a misstatement, which the editor ought not to have allowed to pass without correction. He says (p. 212) Shane O'Neil was killed

"in a characteristic Irish brawl or massacre." Now Shane was murdered by the Scots under Alaster M'Donnell, at the instigation of Sir W. Piers, an Englishman. No doubt Scotia major was the old name for Ireland, and the two races are ethnologically identical; but nowadays "Scotch" and "Irish" call up such very different ideas that the confusion is unfortunate. The Rev. J. W. Ebsworth writes about Pierce Egan the Elder, the reporter of sporting events, practically founder of *Bell's Life*, better known as the author of the once famous *Life in London*, and *The Sprees of Tom, Jerry, and Bob Logic*, illustrated by Cruikshank. The "Finish" to this work, giving many country scenes and misadventures, no doubt suggested and gave the tone to the *Pickwick Papers*. Strangely enough, Egan also wrote Guide-books to Dublin, Liverpool, &c., for he knew every spot in Great Britain. Mr. Ebsworth says there is not a word to offend in all his various writings. The same writer gives a life of his son, the novelist, who etched illustrations for his own books. His contributions to the *London Journal*, &c., anticipated the work of the Pure Literature Society. Mr. S. L. Lee's life of quaker Ellwood is very interesting. Ellwood read Latin books to the blind Milton, till suddenly he was seized at a quakers' meeting and put in Bridewell. This, the last of his many imprisonments, was so severe that he was nearly starved, keeping himself in necessities by "making night waistcoats of red and yellow flannel for a Cheapside hosier." He suffered much from corrupt informers, of whom the system adopted under the Convention Act bred a plentiful crop, as coercion systems have always done in Ireland. Once he was seized and threatened with prosecution for seditious libel because he warned constables to beware of informers. The Elphinstones' lives are well worth reading, especially Professor Laughton's account of Lord Keith, whose tact put an end to the mutinies at the Nore and at Plymouth. Mr. Rigg tells us how the MS. of Robinson Elsdale, a retired midshipman, is the unacknowledged basis of Captain Marryat's *Extracts from the Log of a Privateer*—*man a Hundred Years Ago*. The Rev. Alex. Gordon writes the strange life of Elwes the miser, which some of us when children read in *Buck's Anecdotes*. The volume which, somewhat overweighted with history, contains no great poet or author, ends with the numerous clan of the Erskines, several of whom—the Regent, his son, and the Mar of the 1715, and Knox's friend and fellow-reformer—are contributed by Mr. T. F. Henderson. It is remarkable that the Elliots only fill thirteen pages. But then there are Eliots (among them the patriot), and Eliotte as well. Mr. M. Stephens manages to tread very lightly over *ignes suppositos cineri doloso* in his notice of Ernest, King of Hanover and Duke of Cumberland. Of the Selles business he says the least possible, and not a word about Courvoisier. He remarks that, though the duke was Grand Master Orangeman, he had the good sense to urge them to dissolve their lodges when, in 1817, their disloyalty had become notorious. Hated as he was in England, Ernest became popular in Hanover. Any resident prince was better than the absenteeism from which for 150 years they had been suffering.

By-Paths of Bible Knowledge. The Hittites. The Story of a Forgotten Empire. By A. H. SAYCE, LL.D. Religious Tract Society. 1888.

We have not seen in its kind anything better than this manual. Professor Sayce was, of course, the very man to prepare such a handbook. The story is clearly, attractively, admirably summarized; and nothing can be more excellent than the illustrations, or better than the form and finish of the volume. The sections of the story are in order as follows:—The Hittites of the Bible, The Hittites of the Monuments of Egypt and Assyria, The Hittite Monuments, The Hittite Empire, The Hittite Cities and Race, Hittite Religion and Art, The Inscriptions, Hittite Trade and Industry. Professor Sayce himself, in 1880, laid the foundation of the Hittite literature by his paper, "On the Monuments of the Hittites." Dr. Wright's splendid volume on the *Empire of the Hittites*, of which a second edition appeared in 1886, and the fourth volume of the magnificent work of Professor Perrot and M. Chipiez, *L'Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, published in 1887, afford the means of estimating the wonderful progress of research, within less than ten years, in this fascinating "by-path" of Biblical illustration and ancient history. "Only ten years ago the part played by the Hittite nations in the history of the world was still unsuspected. Yet now we have become, as it were, familiar with the friends of Abraham and the race to which he belonged." The little volume before us contains an admirable digest of the knowledge on the subject hitherto obtained.

Media; Babylon, and Persia. Including a Study of the Zend-Avester or Religion of Zoroaster. From the Fall of Nineveh to the Persian War. By ZENAIDE A. RAGOZIN, Author of "Assyria," "Chaldea," &c. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

Madame Ragozin will have added to her reputation, high as it was, by the publication of this very able volume. The first six chapters are occupied by a very interesting and learned study, presented with admirable clearness, of the religion of Zoroaster, including, of course, its derivation from the Aryan original, of which we find the traces in the Hindu Vedas. There are parts of this description with which we do not agree, as, for instance, when it is intimated that mankind universally have groped their way upward from the "goblin-worship of early Shumir and Accad," rising afterwards through Nature or elementary worship towards higher developments. The study of the Vedas themselves ought to be sufficient to explode such an assumption. Nothing is clearer than that the Vedas are an early corruption of a purer form of Nature or elementary worship, and again, that later Brahmanism is a still further, is a far deeper corruption of the religion of the Vedas. To us the study of the

Vedas has suggested that patriarchal monotheism was first corrupted into Nature or elementary worship, with which the worship of the sun and moon, and the round heaven (Indra=Ouranos), with its stars, was variably intermixed, and afterwards more and more confused by the endless variations and mythical inventions which inevitably spring up in connection with the capricious developments of materialistic pantheism. Sure we are that the history alike of Asiatic, of African, and of Polynesian religious developments, is directly opposed no less to this more modern theory than to the now exploded hypothesis of Comte as to the development of religious ideas. The view, however, to which we thus take exception, is not obtruded by Madame Ragozin, or, indeed, distinctly affirmed, although more than once it seems to be taught at least by implication. Leaving this question apart we have nothing but praise to give to this volume. The ancient history and conditions of life have never been so clearly and picturesquely described of the great races and empires with which the volume is concerned. The illustrations are very numerous and very beautiful, so as to add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume. Ancient Lydia, with its remains but recently disinterred, Babylon the Great, Agbatana, Pasargadæ, Susa, Persepolis, are all opened to view, so far as the most recent discoveries and as excellent descriptions and engravings can avail to accomplish this.

Phœnicia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

The author of the learned book on the *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* has never, we think, done a better piece of work than this history of Phœnicia in Mr. Unwin's "History of the Nations" Series. Clear, condensed, and yet complete in outline, vigorous, admirably arranged, it is all that a popular history ought to be. As thus condensed and summarized no more interesting epitome can be found in the whole series included in the "History of the Nations." Phœnicia came into close relations with every ancient empire, and was, of course, very intimately mixed up with the affairs of Israel and Judah at their most critical and important epochs. Perhaps the Phœnicians were the most wonderful race of the Old World; for daring enterprise and for practical force they had no equals. As to several leading points, as we read this volume, a somewhat striking parallel is suggested between the Phœnician and the English race.

Cambridge Historical Essays. No. II., Pope Gregory the Great and his Relations with Gaul. By F. W. KELLETT, M.A. Cambridge : University Press. 1889.

Mr. Kellet's dissertation is one of two that were adjudged worthy of the

"Prince Consort Prize," and of being published by the University Press. The prize is only given to essays which involve original historical research, and is now awarded for the first time, so that this little volume will be eagerly scanned in University circles. The subject is one of deep interest. Gregory the Great deserves well of all Englishmen, and the present narrative bears witness to his consummate tact, his far-seeing policy, and his high Christian character. The essay opens with a careful sketch of Gallic Christianity up to the time of Gregory. The salient features of the history are seized and handled with much skill, so that the reader is prepared to estimate the work of Gregory. The Pontiff's character and earlier history are then briefly described, and the way is prepared for a careful tracing of the links between him and the Frankish Church and Court. The history is mainly drawn from Gregory's letters, which are clearly put in their historic setting. A few interesting paragraphs gather up the result of the author's research in this most suggestive and interesting field. Mr. Kellett pays a high and well-deserved tribute to the Pope's character and sagacity, whilst he is not blind to his faults. The first appendix, which describes the relations between the Papacy and the Franks during the two centuries from the death of Gregory and the Coronation of Carl the Great at Rome, shows how Gregory's work lies at the root of modern European history. This appendix is not less valuable and interesting than the dissertation itself. The notes bear witness to the wide range of reading which is so well epitomized in this book. The printer and binder have dressed the essay in the neatest style.

Charles George Gordon. By Colonel Sir WILLIAM F. BUTLER.
London : Macmillan & Co. 1889.

This is a very attractive and eloquent book. The history of Gordon's active career, and especially of the last tragic chapter of his career, has never before been told as it is told here. Sir William Butler, however, is nothing if not a partisan. His passionate Irish nature is beset with prejudices and animosities of the bitterest intensity. For the foreign policy of England generally he has little but execration to utter; he goes out of his way somewhat violently to assail wholesale our policy in India. These features of the volume are in our view serious blemishes. We note also that, while he has nothing but praise for the religious character—as for the whole character—of his very Protestant hero, his own Roman Catholicism becomes perceptible, now and again, in that, besides Gordon himself, little if any religious eulogy is bestowed on any Christian devotees except such as belong to the writer's own communion. It will be well for the readers of this volume, accordingly, to be forewarned. Sir William Butler can tell well, very few so well, a tale of travel and daring—a soldier's or a traveller's story—and has fit words in which to describe heroic character and deeds; but his judgment and his authority as to questions of statesmanship, of government, and of race are not in the least to be trusted.

Thomas Poole and His Friends. By MRS. HENRY SANDFORD.

Two vols. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Thomas Poole, or, as his friends always called him, Tom Poole, was one of Coleridge's fast friends; one of the most devoted and self-sacrificing of the many friends who lavished care and help to the uttermost on the poet who had enthralled them, but who was such a spendthrift of the treasures they bestowed upon him. Poole himself was a tanner of Nether Stowey, a man of some eccentricities but of great worth; a successful business man, but a reading man and a friend of thinkers and reading men, a philanthropist, a democrat, a magistrate, and a great man for local affairs in his parish, and through all the neighbourhood round. He was the valued friend, not only of Coleridge, but of Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, and other such spirits. These volumes contain a large amount of hitherto unpublished correspondence to and from Coleridge, and others also of name and fame. Indeed the volumes form the most considerable addition, published of recent years, to the materials in our possession for attaining to a knowledge of Coleridge's early years of manhood, besides much other new material throwing light upon the circle of intellectual sympathy and fellowship to which Coleridge belonged. As such they will be widely welcomed. But indeed, merely as a record of "Tom Poole" himself, his worth, his original character and humour, his homespun country goodness and sturdiness, these volumes are of real value.

Lux Benigna : being the History of Orange Street Chapel, otherwise called Leicester Fields Chapel. By RICHARD W. FREE, M.A. London : Whittingham & Co. 1888.

Mr. Free, who was appointed minister at Orange Street in 1887, soon caught an enthusiasm for the old Huguenot church, and has given in this volume the result of much patient and fruitful research. The plain brick building whose history he chronicles stands a few yards to the south of Leicester Square, next door to the house in which Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Burney once lived. The famous French preacher Saurin was one of the pastors at Orange Street, and for some years Augustus Toplady occupied its pulpit. From 1693-1776 it was in the hands of the French Refugees; for the last hundred years it has been a Congregationalist chapel. Mr. Free gives many glimpses of the religious life of the last two centuries, and has formed quite a portrait gallery of pastors. His book is written in a catholic spirit, without a touch of narrowness. Two excellent views of the chapel and some pictures of notable ministers add to the attractions of a volume which will be welcomed by many students of religious life in the metropolis.

BELLES LETTRES.

ART AND AESTHETICS.

THE January issues of that eminently catholic periodical *L'Art* (Jules Rouam, Paris) are chiefly devoted to lace and embroidery, dancing and music. Lady readers will find in M. Félix Naquet's article, "Broderie et Dentelles," a brief but appreciative review of a variety of works on this dainty subject, from the "Corona Delle Nobili Donne," of Cesare Vecellio, a kinsman of Titian, down to Mrs. Bury Palliser's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Lace and Embroidery in the South Kensington Museum (1870)" and Madame Lipperheide's "Muster altitalienischer Leinenstickerei Berlin," 1881-1883. A biographical notice of Mdlle. Camargo, who in her day, the first half of the last century, charmed Paris with her saltatory gyrations and pirouettes, is contributed by M. A. Jacques Ballieu; and there is also an article on music at the Petersburg Conservatoire by M. César Cui. Each number is adorned by a fine etching, one of an old lady sewing, entitled "A Soixante Ans," by M. J. Torné, the other by M. Turletti, after Quadrone's picture "Idilio," a masterpiece of dog-painting. In the first February issue, under the title "Nouveaux Documents sur les Peintres Bellini," M. P. A. Molmenti collects with sedulous care various scattered details concerning Jacopo Bellini, father of the celebrated brothers Gentile and Giovanni, himself no mean artist, though but few of his works remain to judge him by; and M. Léon Mancino continues his interesting and instructive studies on the sculpture at the Belgian Royal Museum and M. Frédéric Henriet his monograph on Eugène Lavieille. Another great landscape-painter, Troyon, a pupil of Théodore Rousseau, and thus indirectly affiliated to the English school, and particularly to Constable and Turner, has the place of honour accorded to him in the second February issue, M. A. Hustin, who promises to return to the subject, acting as an admirable *cicerone*. We need hardly say that the illustrations are as usual worthy of the letterpress.

Messrs. Raphael Tuck and Sons beg us to give publicity to the fact that they purpose to hold in January 1890 a prize competition, open to students and amateurs submitting copies from their studies and other art publications, when prizes amounting in the aggregate to the value of five hundred guineas and one hundred diplomas of merit will be awarded. The competition will be limited to students and amateurs. The prizes and diplomas will be awarded by Sir John Everett Millais, Bart., R.A., and Messrs. Marcus Stone, R.A., G. H. Boughton, A.R.A., and Solomon J. Solomon, R.I.

The studies are to be divided into three sections:—(1) General Studies; (2) Door Panel Studies; (3) Studies of British and American Scenery. Fuller information may be obtained from Messrs. Raphael Tuck and Sons, 72 and 73 Coleman Street, City.

Faithful and Unfaithful. By MARGARET LEE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

We hardly need to write a notice of this reprint of an American novel. It is already famous. When Mr. Gladstone has directed public attention to an American novel on the subject of the American State laws of divorce, as one of the most interesting books of the season, we may be sure that the circulation of the volume is already assured. Let us, however, be permitted to say that it is written as an exposure of the evils which result in the United States from the unsettledness of the laws on the subject to which it refers. They vary in every section of the Republic, and in different States in the various sections. The laws of many of the States are iniquitously lax, both demoralizing and unjust in a high degree. This novel is modestly and well written; its spirit and its moral are pure and high. It has created a powerful sensation in America, and is well worth reading in England. Whereunto the present condition of things may advance, growingly lax and, we had almost said, reckless, as legislation on the subject of divorce has been and is in many States, it is alarming to think. It is one of many signs of social danger, not to say demoralization, which make one anxious as to the moral future of America.

Cressy. By BRET HARTE. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Bret Harte is on his own field in this book—a field where he has no rival; he deals with the wild South-Western borderland where the miner, the ranch-man, and the New Englander, redolent of Eastern "refinement," meet in the most strangely mixed life the world has ever seen. To an English reader who has not studied the conditions nothing can seem more widely improbable than the contrasts here brought together, or the extraordinary, the extravagant, the abnormal developments of character which our author describes in this as in all his other books dealing with the same region. Nevertheless all who have had the means of judging agree that, with whatever occasional exaggeration, he describes, in general, with vivid faithfulness the life that actually asserts itself in the regions he paints. Of course the New England school teacher is here, as in almost all American stories written by Eastern, and especially New England, authors. It would be wise for English educationists to read American fiction with an eye to learning what American schools and teachers are like, especially country schools. The characters in this story, both of men and women, but most of all, perhaps, of the boys and girls, are exceedingly racy, the boy Johnny Filge being an exquisite creation, in its way. The rowdyism, the savage independence, the finery, the curiously odd and utterly strange, yet, after all, natural developments which belong to the remote and sparsely settled villages of Southern California, are all here.

The reader cannot but often smile ; yet the thoughtful reader will often be still more disposed to sigh. "Modern civilization" has its savage fringes, its sad as well as strange developments, even in the great Christian Republic which is to dominate, as Mr. Gladstone has assured us, the world's future.

Auld Licht Idylls. By J. M. BARRIE. Second Edition.
London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

We are not surprised that a second edition of this book has been so quickly called for. Its twelve sketches of Scotch life and manners are unique. They are more racy reading than most novels, and introduce southern folk to some quaint characters and customs which they will not easily forget. Perhaps most readers would give the palm to "The Courting of T'nowhead's Bell." It is the oddest lovers' duel we ever heard of, and the successful man well deserved his prize. It would spoil the story to describe it, but the scene in the farm kitchen, the race from the kirk to T'nowhead's house on the memorable Sabbath when Bell was left at home with the baby, and the way in which the unsuccessful wooer turned the tables on his rival, is enough to make one ill with laughter. The realistic description of the snowed-up schoolmaster with which the volume opens, the glimpse of Thrums and its people, the account of the Auld Licht kirk, its pastors and chief lights, and of the "Literary Club" of the town, are only some of the treasures in a book which both Scotchmen and Englishmen will delight in.

Reuben Sachs: a Sketch. By AMY LEVY. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

A more striking study of Jewish life and manners than that found in *Reuben Sachs* is seldom given to the public. The young barrister, whose fortunes it follows, has already made himself a name at the bar, and won a seat in Parliament, but insatiable ambition makes him dash from his lips the cup of love. Judith Quixano, thus forsaken, marries a fantastic semi-convert to Judaism. Mr. Lee-Harrison is reckoned a brilliant match for a girl with a small dowry, but Judith's heart is well-nigh broken. The book is full of life-like portraits, each of which has a distinct individuality. The authoress represents a great physician as saying, "More than half my nervous patients are recruited from the ranks of the Jews." Esther Kohnthal also, who does not hesitate to describe herself as "the biggest heiress and the ugliest woman in Bayswater," says, with her usual candour, "There is always either a ne'er-do-well or an idiot in every Jewish family." The story sets Jewish character and social life in a distinctly displeasing light. Judith and her cousin Leo Leuniger are the most attractive figures in this suggestive, original, and well-written sketch of Jewish snobbery.

How It Was Done at Stow School. Second Edition. London : Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1888.

This is a picture of school life in the time of our grandfathers. "Many years have elapsed since the first edition was published." Even as published thirty years ago the condition of things described was already, we venture to say, obsolescent, if not obsolete. We have no doubt, however, as to the general correctness of the picture here given if it is understood to refer to a class of schools, in many respects efficient for the mere outturn of classical and mathematical scholars, some of which were famous sixty years ago. In reading the pages of this volume we have recognized stories known by ourselves, some as accounts of actual facts, others as credible traditions, in connection with historic schools where many able scholars of our own knowledge were trained more than half a century since. It seems to us that more than two actual schools have furnished the materials out of which this picture of Stow School has been compounded. As a memento of the past, as a contrast with the present, as suggesting reasons for thankfulness to the present generation, this picture of ancient barbarism has its interest and its use to-day. It is a conscientious and truthful picture.

Keso : a Tragedy of the First Century. By NATHANAEL HURD. London : Elliot Stock. 1889.

The scene of Mr. Hurd's tragedy is laid in the Court of Domitian and Rome in the early days of Christianity. He has chosen a subject affording ample scope for a writer of imaginative and dramatic power, and the plot of his drama is interesting, without being complicated. But we fear we cannot congratulate him on complete success in a difficult task. Vigorous passages are not wanting in the play, but the writer seems unable to draw his characters with skill and discrimination. They talk very much alike, and are apt—from emperor to slave—to fall into language such as this :

" Swart imp ; an if thou liest thou shalt pay
With cancelling crimson on thy back's black slab."

The simpler portions of the play please us best; the most ambitious are the least successful. Salvia's dream, for instance, is told in language that is effective because it is simple, and some of the interspersed lyrics are sweet and musical. Perhaps the best are the lullaby and the Hymn to Christ sung at intervals during the last scene.

Love's Widowhood, and other Poems. By ALFRED AUSTIN. London : Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Mr. Austin's name as a poet is too well known for it to be necessary to dwell on the general characteristics of his style. His new volume is not above

the average, perhaps hardly reaches the average of his already published work. The poem which gives the book its title occupies about one-third of the volume. Our enjoyment of it is spoiled by the theme, which we cannot admire, and are too Puritan to understand how such a woman as is described can be considered either admirable or lovable. But the verses are musical, the metre—a sort of half-Spenserian stanza—is easy and flowing, and the descriptive stanzas form pleasant reading. (By the way, how can the poet's ear tolerate such stanzas as 24 and 111, containing the rhymes, "phlox, stocks, hocks," and "axe, backs, *Lux et Pax*"?) The "Dedication" is more to our taste, and some of the sonnets are very happy. If the theme, "Why England is Conservative," does not sound very poetical, even the most determined Radical must acknowledge that Mr. Austin knows how to deck his political creed in picturesque guise and attractive colours.

Visions of the Night. By W. H. SEAL. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

The author tells us in his preface that "the present volume is, in the main, an unpretentious attempt to revive a modern taste for ballad literature, a taste which, by reason of long neglect, is in danger of becoming impaired." We cannot say we think his attempt successful. It is harder to write a good ballad than Mr. Seal appears to imagine, and the line is a very narrow one which separates the graphic simplicity of the true ballad from the commonplace jingle of the false. Mr. Seal's verses flow easily enough, but his epithets are trite and his sentiment conventional. Here and there we find simple, graceful stanzas, like those entitled "Sic Transit," which seem to show the author at his best.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Industries of Japan, together with an Account of its Agriculture, Forestry, Arts, and Commerce. From Travels and Researches undertaken at the cost of the Prussian Government. By J. J. REIN, Professor of Geography in the University of Bonn. With Forty-four Illustrations and Three Maps. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

PROFESSOR REIN's first volume on the topography and natural history of Japan has already taken rank as the standard authority on those subjects. This description of Japanese industries is the second part of his herculean task.

Every phase of the history, the methods and the prospects of agriculture, forestry, mining, and art industry is here discussed with a fulness of knowledge and a sagacity which will make this book invaluable to all sections of the industrial community in Europe. The statistics of the growth of commerce between Japan and the West show how important it is for this subject to be thoroughly understood, especially by the technical institutes. Dr. Rein never seems to lose sight of this fact. His book bears trace on every page of the scientific thoroughness with which he has mastered his subject. But whilst the work thus appeals to the artist, botanist, agriculturist, educationalist, there is a mass of information on such subjects as rice growing, tea culture, and especially on lacquer-work, ceramics, and other art productions which all readers will prize. It is full of interest from beginning to end. The publishers have spared neither pains nor cost to supply illustrations worthy of such a volume. Some of the effects are very striking: all are good. We trust that the learning, research, and conscientious care given to the production of this handsome volume will receive the abundant recognition they deserve.

1. *The Obedience of a Christian Man.* Set forth by WILLIAM TYNDALE. Edited, with a Biographical Sketch, Introduction, and Analysis, by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. Christian Classics Series V.
2. *The Council of Trent.* A Study of Romish Tactics. By T. RHYS EVANS. Church History Series IV.
3. *How We Are Saved.* By JAMES A. R. DICKSON, B.D.
4. *My Master and My Friend.* By GEORGE EVERARD, M.A.
5. *Natural Laws and Gospel Teachings.* By HERBERT W. MORRIS, D.D. London: Religious Tract Society. 1889.

1. This attractive reprint will introduce Tyndale's famous book to many readers. It is the first masterpiece of English Theology in the valuable series of Christian Classics, and no one who reads it will hesitate to pronounce it worthy of a place beside Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* and Athanasius' *De Incarnatione Verbi*. The man who could write such a book was a master both of the Bible and the conscience. It is full of glimpses of English life, and the errors of the Papacy are exposed with tremendous force. We are glad to find that the editor has printed the whole work without omission. His brief sketch of Tyndale is sufficient to give the reader an intelligent notion of the man and his times. Some suggestive incidents are quoted to show how great a hold this treatise took on the minds of Tyndale's contemporaries. A clearly arranged Analysis sets out the argument of the book, and almost serves as an index or full table of contents. It

is an edition of which the Religious Tract Society may be proud. We notice three typographical errors: page 189, himself; page 197, the Hebrew word, "cohen," has the final letter transposed; and page 285, "for" is repeated in the fourteenth line.

2. Mr. Evans's history of the *Council of Trent* is a true revelation of the spirit of Popery. He has drawn his material mainly from Frà Paulo Sarpi's learned history, but no pains have been spared to make the book correct and complete. Much well-digested information is given in a clear, condensed form, and the significance of the attitude of the Popes and Cardinals is well pointed out, so that all who are studying the subject, or wish to understand the history of the Papacy, will find it invaluable.

3. Mr. Dickson's little book, *How We Are Saved*, is just the thing to put into the hands of an "anxious inquirer." It is direct, sensible, Scriptural, and eminently helpful.

4. Mr. Everard is well known as a writer of devotional manuals. He has a congenial theme in "the love and service of our Lord Jesus Christ," which he handles with tenderness and spiritual insight.

5. This book of Dr. Morris's has been reprinted by the Religious Tract Society "in the hope that its clear and interesting teachings on some of the most important discussions of the day may commend it to the wide circle of readers who take an intelligent interest in these great questions." The writer's aim was to show that even the physical sciences, under cover of which many specious attacks have been made against the Gospel, offer abundant proof that the foundation of our faith still stands strong. In pursuance of this line of thought, fifty pages are devoted to showing the complete coincidence of the Gospel history with the work of recent exploration in Palestine, and with modern study of its natural history and physical features. The miracles, answers to prayer, the resurrection of the dead, and the final conflagration of the world are then discussed and shown to be in harmony with many natural facts. The book is a valuable contribution to the library of Christian evidences.

Methodism a Parallel. By WILLIAM A. QUICK. London: T. Woolmer. 1889.

Mr. Quick discusses the various analogies between Methodist and New Testament history in thirteen short chapters, full of historic facts as to the character, providential leading, and work of the Wesleys. In the chapters headed "Persecution" and "Heroism" he has no difficulty in drawing a striking parallel between the Apostles and the leaders of the Evangelical Revival. "Agents" and "Elect Ladies" furnish him with material for two other suggestive chapters. The book makes no pretence to rivalry with Mr. Slater's Fernley Lecture, but it will perhaps be read by some to whom the lecture may not appeal. Without great learning or wide research, the volume seizes the

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salient features of Methodist history, and shows how true they are to the New Testament standard of doctrine and life. It is an eminently readable book, and the concluding chapter, "Present and Future," shows that, much as Mr. Quick appreciates the heroism of the past, he is no mere *laudator temporis acti*, but one who sees that in changed circumstances Methodism still keeps much of the fire and self-sacrifice of her youth.

Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, held in London, 1888. Edited by Rev. J. JOHNSTON, F.S.S. Two Volumes. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

We can only indicate the scope and character of these two bulky volumes. They are as comprehensive as the Conference which they report. Part I. deals with six general subjects which were discussed in as many meetings; Part II. gives in eleven sections a survey of the entire mission-field of the world; Part III. deals with four special subjects, like Jewish and Medical Missions. The second volume reports on the subjects discussed in twenty-two different sections. The volumes are thus a *thesaurus* of missionary opinion and information, all brought down to date. They are also excellently edited. The price of the volumes is astonishingly low. All interested in getting authentic information on missions, and especially missionary advocates, will find their account in studying this Report.

The Bible in the Pacific. By the Rev. A. W. MURRAY. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1888.

Mr. Murray's book is due to a suggestion made by the Rev. H. T. B. Robjohns, one of the agents for the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Australian colonies and New Zealand. He thought that a general view of half a century's Bible work in the Pacific would inspire all true workers with fresh zeal, and would keep alive the memory of much heroic service. The facts are grouped under four main geographical sections : Eastern and Western Polynesia ; Western Polynesia—the New Hebrides ; Western Polynesia—the Loyalty Islands ; the North Pacific. The book thus forms a chronicle of the most notable episodes in missionary labour among the Tahitans, Tongans, Fijians, the people of New Guinea, and many other islands of the Pacific. The Wesleyan Church is represented by such names as those of Hunt, Calvert, and Thomas. The book shows how many devoted men have laboured to translate the Word of God into the languages of the South Sea Islanders. The bird's-eye view thus given of fifty years' toil will show how much the world owes to the Bible Society and the great missionary societies. Mr. Murray groups his facts well, and tells them in an unaffected style which adds to their impressiveness. His book is a valuable contribution to the history of the evangelization of the world.

How to Teach the Babies. By JAMES BAILEY, Head Master, Southlands Training College, Battersea. London: Joseph Hughes. 1889.

Mr. Bailey has given a lifetime to the work of elementary education, and has achieved eminent success as a teacher. This little manual therefore embodies the results of a long course of personal experience. There is a wide sphere of usefulness for such a book. Our elementary schools have probably not less than one hundred and fifty thousand children below four years of age in attendance, besides the thousands who are taught in private schools. Mr. Bailey discusses the whole subject in fourteen brief chapters, full of practical suggestions as to the children, the school-room, the teacher, and the methods of teaching. Reading, recitation, slate work, oral lessons, and similar matters are carefully handled. The kindergarten, singing, physical exercises, &c., are dealt with in the two closing chapters. The manual is full of counsels and hints which all teachers will be thankful for.

A Winter on the Nile, in Egypt, and in Nubia. By the Rev. CHARLES D. BELL, D.D., Honorary Canon of Carlisle, Rector of Cheltenham. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

Dr. Bell's narrative of *A Winter in Egypt* is both instructive and entertaining. The reader seems almost to be sailing up the river and visiting the wonderful temples and pyramids. Many details of present and past history are given which add freshness and interest to the descriptions. The whole course of the Nile from Alexandria up to the Second Cataract is, in fact, described by a clear-sighted and intelligent traveller, who constantly avails himself of the researches of previous writers, but always adds his own views and impressions. The volume is tastefully bound and well printed, so that it will make a most acceptable gift-book.

Tempted London: Young Men. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

The articles on the temptations of London young men, which attracted much attention when they appeared in the *British Weekly*, are here gathered into sixteen chapters. The view thus given of the shady side of life in the metropolis should do something to quicken the Church's zeal in caring for young people. Some of the chapters are rather slight. More thorough handling would have added greatly to the weight of the book, but it is a timely protest against many crying abuses of modern life, and we trust it will be widely read. Its facts have been carefully gathered by special commissioners, who have evidently made themselves familiar with every phase of the

subject. It would not be easy to find so trustworthy a description of the life of young men in London as that given in these chapters.

A Guide to Trinidad. A Handbook for the Use of Tourists and Visitors. By J. H. COLLENS. Second Edition, revised and illustrated. London : Elliot Stock. 1888.

Mr. Collens' position as superintendent of the Boys' Model and Normal School at Port of Spain has given him special facilities for the preparation of this handsome and exhaustive handbook. It has some capital illustrations, some racy stories, and information, condensed yet complete, on every phase of life and every institution of the lovely West Indian island of Trinidad.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Recent Wanderings in Fiji: Glimpses of its Villages, Churches, and Schools.* By WILLIAM REED.
2. *Fallen on the Field: being Memorials of the Rev. Alfred Henry Clegg, Missionary to the Gambia.* By JOHN S. PAWLYN.
3. *The Shadow of Nobility.* By EMMA E. HORNIBROOK.
4. *The Two Harvests.* By ANNIE RYLANDS.
5. *The Vicar of Berrybridge.* By CHARLES R. PARSONS.
6. *Hugh Axe of Hephzibah.* By the Rev. JOHN M. BAMFORD.
7. *As It Should Be; or, Aunt Rachel's Advice to her Niece.*

1. Mr. Reed's little book is intended to awake in young readers a lively interest in the Fijian mission. It gives in a compact form much valuable information, with many vivid touches which only a personal visit to the islands could have supplied. We hope that the narrative will find its way into the hands of many missionary collectors.

2. Mr. Pawlyn has prepared a graceful record of a brief, uneventful, but devoted life. Alfred Clegg's heart was in his work, and the sad story of his early death a thrill of regret in many Methodist circles at home and abroad. We are thankful for such a memorial of a promising and whole-hearted man, and trust that it will be put into the hands of many young people.

3. *The Shadow of Nobility* is the story of a girl who marries a rich old earl to save her father from bankruptcy. The nobleman's death and that of her only child set her free to marry her old lover. The interest is well sustained throughout. The sketches of Sir Guy Hibbert and his ward

Marion Gore are well drawn. The book shows much skill, and leaves a pleasing impression.

4. Miss Rylands draws the material of her story from the workhouse and the street. The lads whose struggles she paints are brave fellows with the true ring about them, and the happy fortune which leads a Christian tradesman to adopt two of them is well deserved. It is a capital story for boys—especially poor boys who have to fight with special temptation.

5. Mr. Parsons' *Vicar of Berrybridge* is not equal to the *Man with the White Hat*, but it is a story that will be read with pleasure, and will help to promote Christian earnestness. It is a story of village Methodism which it does one good to read.

6. Mr. Bamford's latest allegory is written in the shrewd and forcible style which has gained him so wide a circle of readers. The main idea of *Hugh Axe* is Christian citizenship. "Hard Cash," one of his chief characters, gives the writer an opportunity for some searching condemnation of that greed of gain which blights the finer qualities of human nature. It is a sententious book, full of home thrusts.

7. *Aunt Rachel's Advice to her Niece* is a set of racy homilies on the duties of a young servant. We know nothing of the sort so simple, direct, sensible, and readable. Many a mistress and servant will be thankful for the neat little book. It is not, however, quite intelligible how Aunt Rachel, herself a servant, is so well-read. Its vignette illustrations are remarkably beautiful.

WESLEYAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Memorable Bible Nights.* Sunday Afternoon Talks in the Chapel of the Children's Home. By NEHEMIAH CURNOCK, F.R.M.S.
2. *The Wonderful Book; or, Twelve Reasons why the Bible is the most Wonderful Book in the World.* By J. T. SEYMOUR.
3. *Mignon's Message.* By ELIZA KERR.

London: Wesleyan Sunday School Union. 1889.

1. Mr. Curnock's sermonettes are simple in style, but full of thoughtful, wise, and earnest counsel, lighted up by illustrations and incidents drawn from nature and books. The idea of the little volume is striking, and it is well worked out. It is a book young people will heartily enjoy, and which will introduce them to much suggestive Bible study.

2. Mr. Seymour's twelve reasons for claiming that the Bible is the most wonderful book in the world furnish him with pegs on which to hang the tributes paid to God's Book by some of the greatest writers, thinkers, and

saints of the world. It will comfort many readers to study these pages, and help to make them "Men of one Book." It is a helpful, profitable little volume.

3. *Mignon's Message* is a pretty story of an orphan girl who found a home with her uncle in the South of England, won the heart of an old lady whom she helped in the midst of a thunderstorm, and with the legacy which this friend left her saved her uncle from bankruptcy. She had her reward in an approving conscience and a lover of whom any girl might be proud.

The Life Register of ——. London : West, Newman & Co. 1888.

Had this register been in common use for even the last couple of centuries what a different world this would have been ! It supplies a kind of diary in which the course of life from the cradle to the grave may be chronicled. There are pages to jot down names, birthplaces, and dates, ancestors on both sides, spaces for photographs to be pasted in, and a page for each year up to the seventy-second. The book ends there, but those who are so fortunate (or otherwise) as to need more pages can stitch them in. The compiler of this register hopes to see it come into general use. Certainly it would be exceedingly convenient if parents would keep such a record of the infancy of their children, and lay it upon them afterwards as a sacred duty to fill up all the particulars which the author suggests. We are afraid, however, that they will not be persuaded to take the trouble. Those who will do so could have no better book than this neat register with its useful hints about health.

The Standard of Value. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN, F.R.G.S., &c. &c. Sixth Edition. London : Longmans. 1889.

The subject of bi-metallism is now fully before the country. We have no intention in this notice of intimating any opinion on a question which, as matter of controversy, has not been determined, but, as we may say, rehabilitated, by the Report of the late Royal Commission on Gold and Silver. But we direct our readers to the present volume as the standard compendium of argument on the side of bi-metallism.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (January).—M. Maury's article "Villefavard: the History of a Work of Evangelization in France," tells an old story which in its day aroused widespread interest in Protestant circles in France. Some of the actors are still living, and M. Maury has thus been able to consult them in preparing his narrative. After an interesting sketch of the district, which might well have furnished George Sand with a background for one of her country tales, the writer describes the effect produced by the Revolution, when the church and cemetery became the property of a few inhabitants, and the priest nominated by the Government was received with open arms. In 1843 M. Napoléon Roussel, a member of the "Société Evangélique de France," came to Villefavard and did a great work in the district. The troubles and success of Evangelicalism are well sketched in this article.

(February).—In a brief paper M. Fallot pays a high tribute to the late Madame Caroline de Barrau de Muratet, whose pen and purse were devoted to the interests of the working women of France. She ranks as one of the chief lady-philanthropists of the present generation. M. Fallot says that our Lord's portrait of the model disciple in his "Sermon on the Mount" seems trait for trait to be the likeness of the unselfish and loving Christian woman of whom he writes. M. Puaux's article on Madame de Maintenon is a counterblast to M. Philippe Godet's panegyric. He has no difficulty in showing from her own correspondence what manner of person Maintenon really was. Eaten up with ambition, spurning all obligations to those who had befriended her in humbler days, she trampled on the most delicate sentiments of honour to compass her own ends.

(March).—The Walloon Churches claim a large share of this number. One article briefly describes the settlements in Holland in 1574-1590 of Walloon refugees, and in 1681-1700 of French refugees, as the two great sources of the Walloon communities in the Low Countries. Then Count de Bylandt discusses the present *rôle* of these Churches. He says that their chief duty is to defend evangelical truth against the errors of the time. It can no longer be said: "The Papacy, that is the great enemy." Other forces have risen which are even more fraught with mischief. "Materialism, pantheism, rationalism, historical criticism and scepticism, to say nothing of pessimism," are making constant and simultaneous attacks on Christianity. The Walloon Churches must, the writer says, take their share in defending religion from such onslaughts.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (January).—An article by the Rev. H. D. Jenkins, D.D., "Are our Public Schools godless?" deserves the careful attention of all Christian educationists.

"What is the 'American' system," he asks, "which we are under obligation as patriots to defend? One thing is certain—it is not a godless school. If it has become godless, or even agnostic, or simply deistic, it is not the school which can carry with it any reverence of hallowed or patriotic associations. The American school of our fathers, of our own youthful days, was, in its aims, exercises, and text-books, a Christian school. One may defend schools 'colourless' as to religion upon what grounds he may choose other than this, they are not in any historic sense the 'American' public school. . . .

"Not long since the Commencement exercises of the high school in one of our inland cities were prefaced with prayer and closed with a benediction, as in the days of our fathers pretty nearly every public assembly of citizens was; but forthwith two papers published in the vicinity issued formal protests against identifying a public function with religious acts. Significantly each protest was printed in a foreign language: one in an infidel journal, the other in a Romanist organ. Some of us who were born in this country, and of Pilgrim and Puritan stock, do not go to newcomers to learn our national principles. . . .

“ Historically,” says Buisson in the *Dictionnaire de Pedagogie*, ‘the school has been in all countries the daughter of the Church.’ Pre-eminently is this true of America. Beginning, as our system does, with that first educational legislation of the Massachusetts colony in 1647, ordering that ‘every township in this jurisdiction, after y^e Lord hath increased y^m to y^e number of 50 house-holders, shall then forthwith appoint one in y^e towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him,’ and providing a system of support by public taxation; no one ever heard of the demand that the school should be other than religious in its aim and Christian in its spirit until Bishop Hughes, in 1840, demanded a change in the policy of the system. For close upon two centuries the American public school had known a consistent and homogeneous development; and during all that time no one ever dreamed, much less asserted, that a godless school was the logical outcome of a Christian free State.

“ If there is any one man who by a life of self-sacrificing service may be justly called ‘the father of the Common School,’ that man was Horace Mann; and so far was he from regarding that system as necessarily colourless that, when some one told him an attempt was being made to reject the Bible from the schools of Massachusetts, he promptly replied. ‘Never, so long as there remains enough of Plymouth Rock to make a gun-flint of.’ Judging by the size and the spirit of the meetings lately held in Faneuil Hall, there remains something of that historic rock yet. . . .

“ The scene is presented to us of a regent of the University of Wisconsin, upon the platform of one of its normal schools, publicly protesting against the prayer with which the Commencement exercises were introduced, upon the ground that ‘the moment a teacher in his capacity as such begins to exercise any religious function whatever, *to exert any religious influence* upon the minds of those under his instruction, that moment he infringes upon the reserved rights of the people.’ It is a pity that gentleman had not been present to answer Benjamin Franklin when he made his celebrated motion for the opening of the daily sessions of Congress with prayer! But the *Popular Science Monthly*, which heads this attempt to banish the worship of God from the public school and the name of God from the text-books, asks (by one of its contributors), ‘What more dishonest and unworthy method of pre-empting and prejudicing the minds of the young could possibly be devised than that of school worship?’ And, adds the same writer, ‘The one thing in connection with religion in the schools which is most indefensible of all is *worship*.’ We are reminded by such affirmations of the pertinent question of Dr. Woolsey, ‘Why permit evolution to be publicly professed more than predestination?’ So it has come to this, that a citizen, by accepting some petty place under the public service, is forbidden to do anything publicly which shall even ‘exert a religious influence’ upon those brought into contact with him. This is the new theory of our principles of government which confronts us, that that religion which is embodied in text or preamble of nearly every Constitution of the States of the Union may not be ‘constitutionally’ presented even as an ‘influence’ in any public function in those States!

“ *The last parley is now in progress*,” says Professor William H. Payne, of the University of Michigan, ‘before the final surrender.’ To tell the truth, as one surveys the field it looks very much like it. Two years ago the writer of this article published certain facts in *The Christian at Work*, which called forth from Dr. A. A. Hodge the last contribution to the press he ever penned. Since that time he has been in active correspondence with ministers, teachers, and school officers in all parts of the State of Illinois, and the writer is more deeply than ever impressed by the feeling that Dr. Hodge did not overstate the truth when, referring to what had been published, he said, ‘Under these problems there lurks the most tremendous and most imminent danger to which the interests of our people will ever be exposed, in comparison with which the issues of slavery and intemperance sink into insignificance.’

“ Taking this State, in the centre of our republic, with its mixed population, as an exponent of what is being done in the States north, we find that the State has practically driven out competition in all grades of education below the

collegiate. There are enrolled in the various public schools of this one State over 743,000 pupils. Forty years ago private and denominational academies were planted in all its thriving new communities. One by one the public system has forced these into an almost universal bankruptcy. In three neighbouring cities of our immediate vicinity stand their abandoned buildings. The State which declines to interfere with the 'vested interests' of telephones, and telegraphs, and railroads, feels no such compunction in crushing out the life of Christian schools. What chance to live has 'private competition' when brought into conflict with a system that can expend in a single year in a single State over \$10,000,000, and whose 'plant' in one State alone is estimated at upwards of \$23,000,000? . . .

"We have upon our table written returns from all the principal cities, towns, villages, and corporate communities of the State, showing a total enrolment in the public schools, in these centres of population, of 203,303 pupils; and of these 119,842 are returned as attending schools where there are no religious exercises whatever—Christian, Jewish, or Pagan! . . .

"But if such is the case with the devotions of the schools, how does it stand in the matter of their text-books?

"It is not to be expected by any one who has studied the spirit lying beneath all these changes that this 'sop to the whale' will satisfy either imported infidels or Romish Bishops. Writers in both the *Popular Science Monthly* and the *Forum* tell us plainly that they 'will never rest until the last vestige of religion is driven from the public school.' School officers who are thinking to soothe the tiger by compromises have learned little of the hatred which both these classes bear to evangelical Christianity. Directors who think to compromise by selecting a few passages from the Bible which lend themselves easily to the purposes of a ritual, and who cut down the free exercise of devotion to the mere repetition of a form of petition, however sacred in itself, would do well to turn their attention to the books which are rapidly supplanting the text-books used when the public-school system was in harmony with its origin and the religious convictions of its supporters.

"Among the founders of our public-school system, Benjamin Rush, and Fisher Ames, and Thomas Scott Grimke, and Horace Mann contended for the daily use of the Bible as either a book of devotions or, in addition thereto, as the common reading-book in the school. The same proposition is revived in the September number of the *Century* by one of our popular literati. Now let us see what sort of reading-books have been discarded and what are to-day retained.

* * * * *

"No one can look upon such a table as that without knowing why Professor Payne says that the Church, 'by which we mean,' he says, 'the organized aggregate of religious influences in a community,' is 'engaged in the last parley before the final surrender.' . . .

"Our school officials and book publishers must know that they have started on a road which knows no logical turn. If our schools are not to be continued in accordance with their historic purposes, or in the spirit of the Christian States which support them, but simply by the greatest outcry—religion is not the only thing which 'must go.' Considering what has already been yielded to simple clamour, that saloon-keeper who sat upon the school platform last summer in Brooklyn, when one of the youths denounced the drink traffic, may yet accomplish his avowed purpose of rendering the repetition of such sentiments impossible in a public school. Beer, if not his religion, is at least his politics, and he does not propose to see the schools turned into a propaganda of 'prohibition.' Nor can our school boards satisfy the enemies of the Bible by rejecting the name of God from their text-books. A volume lately published by the Assistant Attorney-General of the United States demands the rejection of Webster's Dictionary from the public schools on the ground of its 'political' complexion. There is no argument valid for the banishment of religion from the schools which is not as valid for the banishment of disputed questions in politics. And when we can teach neither the tenets of our

common religion, nor the fundamental principles of our Christian morals, nor the theories of our federal life as a nation, because upon each theme there is a variety of opinion in the State, we shall have succeeded not only in banishing 'the last vestige of religion from the public schools,' but in banishing the schools themselves. This plan reminds us of the witty saying of a famous preacher, that some parties were ever ready to kill a man, but strenuous to preserve the corpse. If the present tendencies go on unchecked for another generation the corpse will be all that is left of the public school; and the people will not try to preserve that very long. They tell us that in Holland, under the pressure of Romanism and Rationalism, it is no longer permitted to teach the heroic history, that Motley has made familiar to English readers, of the struggles of the Dutch fathers and princes for liberty of conscience and a free Bible. And that where the students can no longer read the noble deeds of their Protestant and believing ancestors in their gymnasia, the few that do attend spend a goodly part of their time in studying dancing. Those of our own schools are not far from that which have banished the Bible, the inspiration of those mighty impulses leading to the founding of free States, from their desks, and introduced the cook-book!

"There is such a thing, Poor Richard says, as 'paying too dear for one's whistle.' A question which involves the annual expenditure of \$111,304,927 will be looked into with increasing carefulness. A child can learn to doubt the faith of his mother and to scout the religion of his father more cheaply than that."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (January).—Many topics of wide interest are briefly discussed in this capital number. The editor (Mr. Rice) writes on "The Next National Reform." It is painful to confess that this means, "How shall political corruption be prevented?" Mr. Rice says there is but one efficient remedy—a radical reconstruction of the machinery of election which shall make fraud impossible. "For without strong and non-partisan movement that shall initiate a system of honest voting, making bribery unprofitable and knavery impotent, popular elections in America will become a farce, and Democratic institutions a prey to the same disintegrating forces that encompassed the ruin of earlier free governments." No temporary remedies will suffice. It should be an uncompromising crusade against political knavery—a war to the death—as it was a war to the death against American slavery. An absolutely secret ballot and the payment of the necessary expenses of candidates are the two essentials of such a measure of reform. In New York State, the worst electoral methods may be seen in full force. An early visitor to the polls in the populous districts, especially the lodging-house centres, will see voters marching up to vote in small squads under the direction of a trained party "worker." The voters "are required to hold up their right hand exposing the ballot in that position until cast." The "consideration" is generally five dollars, often as much as ten. The lodging-house population is estimated at eight per cent. of the city electorate. To enforce secret voting would overthrow this crying abuse. To secure the printing and distribution of ballots at public expense is the next best safeguard against corruption. At present innumerable assessments are made for "workers" and ticket peddlers. "Under this method the actually necessary expenses are so excessive in metropolitan districts that poor men are practically debarred from election to any high office within the gift of the people without mortgaging their official acts in advance to the persons or organizations that defray their campaign disbursements." A very different topic is handled by the late master of the *Germanic*, under the title "The Captain's Work on an Atlantic Liner." The entire responsibility of the vessel rests on the captain's shoulders. From the time she leaves Liverpool up to the moment of her return he must keep guard over the interests of owners and passengers. The fogs which are of frequent occurrence during eight months of the year compel the commander of an ocean steamer to be constantly on the watch, and keenly alive to every sound. Captain Kennedy speaks with evident pleasure of the loud cheers which greeted him when he came from

the bridge at Queenstown after bringing his ship safely through a hundred miles of fog. When they pushed on to Liverpool he says, "I made every fog signal along the coast without having to alter my course, and when I reached Tuskar I was surrounded with vessels of all descriptions. I could hear the horns of sailing vessels and the whistles of steamers in every direction. Several times I was compelled to stop in order to avoid a collision; but fortunately I escaped, and, hearing the fog signal on Tuskar Rock, I turned that point and set my course for Holyhead." When the fog cleared away and he could take rest, he says, "I was ill with fatigue, and could not endure the sight of food. My eyes were bloodshot, and appeared like coals of fire in my head." It was impossible to sleep after the feverish strain of the past two or three days.

METHODIST REVIEW (March—April).—Dr. Hunt gives an interesting history of the Methodist Book Concern in New York. One hundred years ago, on the 17th of next August, John Dickins was appointed to a charge in Philadelphia, with the additional office of Book Steward. On a borrowed capital of £120, he laid the foundations of the present enormous superstructure. For years the business was weighted with financial burdens. When Dickins died in 1798, the "Concern" was £900 in debt. Under the wise administration of the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, the business prospered greatly. In 1804 it was removed to New York, which gained the honour over the head of Baltimore by a majority of two votes. In 1833 new premises were built in Mulberry Street, but in 1836 they were burned to the ground. This involved a loss of £50,000. Subscriptions were raised, and a new house soon rose on the ruins of the old. It has stood more than fifty years, and, with the Western house, has had a turn-over of ten millions sterling. After a brief account of the Western house, which was opened in 1820 at Cincinnati, Dr. Hunt describes the methods of business. The preachers, finding their people far from book stores, and unable, if they could reach them, to get Methodist literature, "became from necessity, as well as for conscience' sake, booksellers." Stocks of books are now kept in various large cities; but Dr. Hunt says: "We are confident that, if we take the whole history of the Church together, three-fourths of the products of the Methodist Book Concern have reached their destination, directly or indirectly, through the agency of Methodist preachers." The sales of the Book Concerns in the four years ending with 1888 were \$6,920,743, over three dollars per member. In 1888 nearly three million copies of Sunday-school papers were published in New York and Cincinnati. The Book Concern at New York has paid, "for objects outside of its own business," £40,000 since 1836. The premises at Mulberry Street and in Broadway have been sold, and the Book Concern will this year move into a handsome new building, which it will occupy in connection with the Missionary Society.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE (January, February, March).—The February number is one of much varied interest. It opens with a most enjoyable sketch of Gérôme, the great French painter and sculptor. Mr. Fleming's account of his re-introduction of hand-spinning into Westmoreland is a novel medley of the classics and Ruskin with earnest and practical schemes for the relief of the poor dales folk of the north. The article seems strangely out of date, but Mr. Fleming assures us that his plan has proved a pecuniary success and materially relieved the villagers. The article on "Portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots," has some excellent reproductions of historic portraits, but Mr. Hutton frankly confesses that it is impossible to say how far they are true to life. "The Romance of Dollard," Mr. Cable's "Strange True Stories of Louisiana," "Two Negatives," and "Under the Redwood Tree" are all worthy of special mention. This is one of the best numbers of the *Century* we have seen.

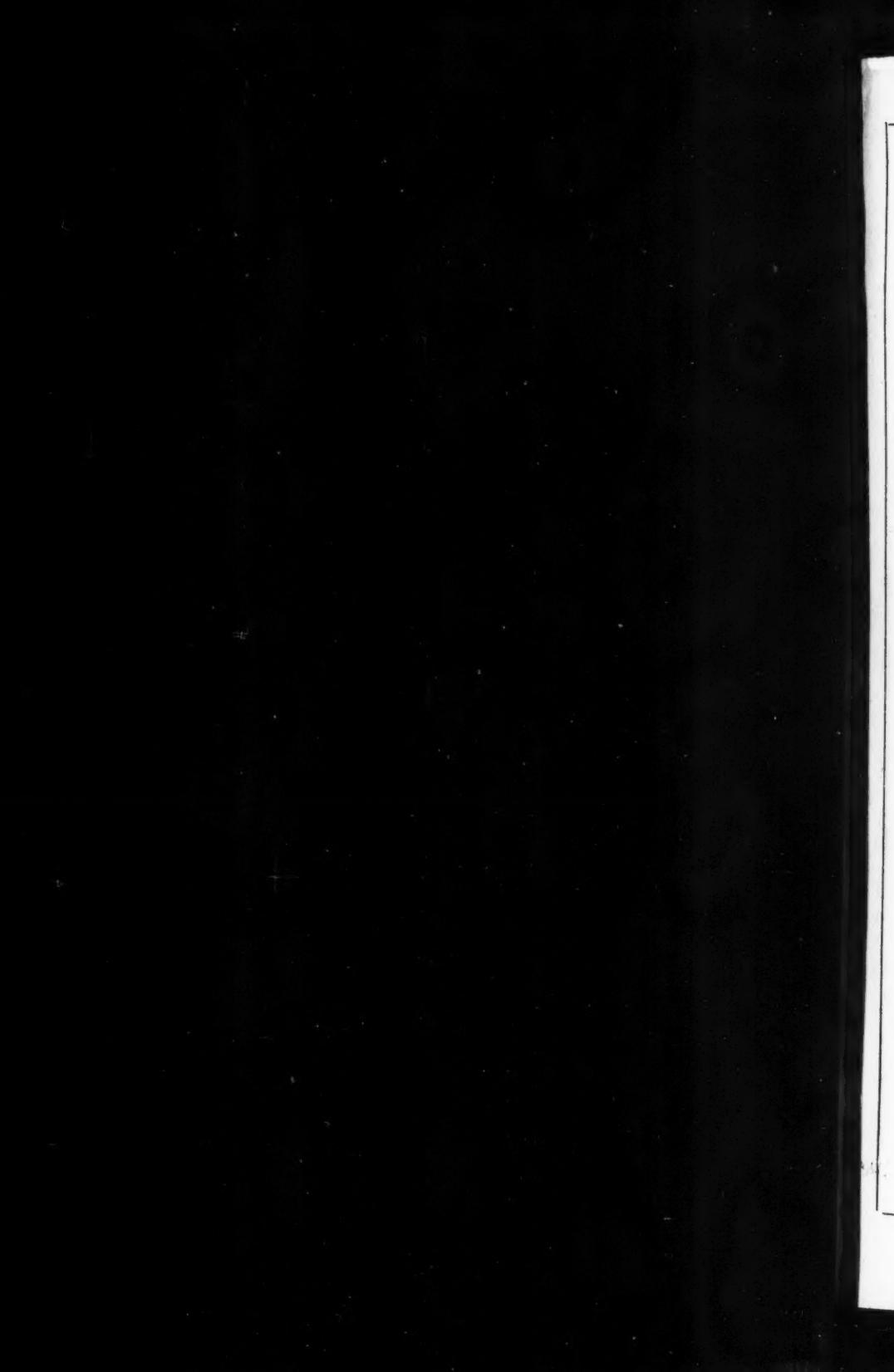
HARPER'S MAGAZINE (January, February, March).—Mr. Child's description of "The Hôtel Drouot," in the February number, is full of facts about the auctions and auctioneers of Paris. M. Chevalier, "the great virtuose of the hammer" in the French capital, paid more than a million francs for the goodwill of his business. The experts who sit at the right of the

auctioneer, the master crier, Daire, the porters, buyers, and all the surroundings of the novel scenes at the Hôtel Drouot are here pleasantly sketched. Björnson's first paper on "Norway and its People" is a beautifully illustrated and most enjoyable paper. "The Institute of France," in the March *Harper*, is another of Mr. Child's Parisian studies. It would be hard to find a more readable account of what Renan describes as "one of the most glorious creations of the Revolution—a thing peculiar to France. France alone has an Institute, where all the efforts of the human mind are, as it were, bound into one whole; where the poet, the philosopher, the historian, the philologist, the critic, the mathematician, the physicist, the astronomer, the naturalist, the economist, the jurisconsult, the sculptor, the painter, the musician, can call each other colleagues." The Academies of "Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," of "Beaux-Arts," and of Moral and Political Sciences are comparatively little known: Each contains forty members, ten unattached members, ten foreign associates, and about fifty corresponding members. The Academy of Sciences has its gatherings every Monday. The séance opens with a confusion of greetings and conversational groups. Then the president and secretary read reports to which "nobody seems to listen: this one is busy distributing his latest pamphlet, another is writing letters with feverish haste; others are talking in groups; others are wandering round the labyrinthine tables and greeting their colleagues." On special days, as when Brown-Séquard explains his apparatus for analysing the air breathed by consumptive patients, there is marked attention, but that is anything but the normal state of things. A full account is given of the Académie Française, the most popular section of the Institute. Mr. Child says a Frenchman can rarely enter the doors of the Institute without sacrificing something of his independence. Coppée had to give up his weekly theatrical article to avoid criticizing the works of his colleagues in the Académie. Other distinguished men refuse to purchase the honour at such a price. The custom for the candidate to solicit the suffrages of the Académie is one that much needs to be abolished. It grew out of Armand d'Andilly's rejection of the honour to which he had been chosen.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (January, February, March).—Walter Scott at Work," in the February number, is full of facts about the literary habits of the great novelist. The facsimiles of the proof-sheets, with Ballantyne's suggestions and Scott's rejoinders, are specially interesting. "The Picturesque Quality of Holland" deals with some quieter aspects of the Low Countries. Mr. Austin Dobson's "Old Vauxhall Gardens" is a racy narrative, with some capital pictures of the famous pleasure grounds. Mr. Thomas L. James, ex-Postmaster-General, contributes a good article on "The Railway Mail Service" to the March *Scribner*. The travelling post-office of to-day is a monument to the memory of Colonel Bangs, a model post-office man, full of zeal and enterprise. Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt, the son of the great railway lord, had twenty cars built to secure a quick postal service between New York and Chicago. His father, on hearing of the plan, said, "If you want to do this, go ahead, but I know the Post-Office Department, and you will, too, within a year." "Mr. Vanderbilt did go ahead. He constructed and equipped the finest mail train ever seen on the planet, ran it for ten months, never missed a connection at Chicago, and was always on time at New York." Yet within three weeks, despite the indignant protest of Colonel Bangs, the mails of three States were ordered to be taken from him, and given to another route. "A grosser and more wanton breach of plighted faith it would be hard to find, and its results were far-reaching and disastrous." The illustrations of the article give a capital idea of the work of railway letter-sorters. Statistics are given to show how vast is the work of the railway postal department.

ST. NICHOLAS (January, February, March).—In the February number, the main facts of Stanley's life and work in Africa are well put in a paper entitled "The White Pasha." "Our Modern Middy" and "Seeing the Real Mikado" are two good papers, which show how much information is served up in this capital children's magazine.





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